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INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR
ON TRADITIONAL CULTURES
IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

*International Seminar
on Traditional Cultures
in South-East Asia*



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PREFACE

THE Regional Meeting of Experts on Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia sponsored by Unesco and conducted with its aid by the Institute from November 3-7, 1958, is virtually the fruition of the project Unesco conceived at its General Conference at Montevideo in 1954 "to organize or encourage with the assistance of Member States and their National Commissions . . . studies and round table discussions concerning the development of the cultural life of the communities" (Resolution 4-31). This move was the reflection of a growing concern for the preservation and promotion of the best elements in the traditional cultures of South-East Asia, which, it was realized, were apt to be ignored or affected adversely in the impact of a rapid industrialization of the underdeveloped countries of South-East Asia. Undoubtedly, these countries have great need to command the benefits of modern science and technology to improve their economy and obtain better standards of living; but the manner of attaining these benefits and the pace of the process are bound to affect the cherished values and institutions of the ancient cultures of these lands, and the situation calls for study with a view to guide the process along lines calculated to secure optimum success in blending the best features in the new and old cultures. The efforts of Unesco in this direction comprised, on the one hand, the organization of seminars at University level and on the other the institution of field studies by competent persons. It was to evaluate the results of this two-sided approach and to tackle the problem from a practical point of view that the Regional Meeting of Experts was summoned. They came from Indonesia, Ceylon, Pakistan and India. Unfortunately Burma could not send her expert. Delegates and special invitees readily accepted the invitation of the Institute to help in the objective of the meeting. Details of the participants in the seminar are given in the appendix (pp. 199-202).

The documents (Part I) on which the seminar was based were (1) a book, *Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia*, prepared specially for the occasion by the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, and (2) Extracts from Reports and

Field Studies forming pages 5-55 of the present report. These practically cover the entire documents collected by Unesco on the traditional cultures of South-East Asia. The Director of the Institute also contributed a short General Note (pages 1-4) which gave a summary account of the issues arising out of the reports of the seminars and field studies, and falling to be considered at the Regional Meeting.

Part II of the Report contains the proceedings of the seminar proper. Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, the President of the Institute and the Seminar Committee, in his speech welcoming the Seminar members solicits their attention to the paradoxical contrast of the peace of mind of old generations in spite of their primitive and under-developed life with the unhappiness and disharmony in the midst of the many modern amenities accruing from science and technology; he also emphasizes the importance of the study of the traditional cultures of South-East Asia not as a mere academic exercise but to discover the *modus operandi* of "adapting these ancient peoples to a method of living, consistent with the great advances in science and technology, but even more consistent with those ancient ideals which have preserved them for many many centuries". Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs of the Government of India, inaugurated the seminar with a thoughtful address. He invited attention to the fluidity of the concept of traditional cultures as borne out by the facts of History, to the annihilation of distance and the tremendous swiftness of communication effected by modern science which thereby renders contacts of all countries of the world necessary and inevitable, to the complementary nature of the values of the East and the West, to the growing need for their mutual appreciation, and commends to the seminar consideration of ways and means for achieving mutual understanding and compassion and that feeling of neighbourliness which has become so essential in a world that has become a compulsory neighbourhood shared by all nations without exception.

Altogether ten papers were read and discussed at the seminar sessions. Five of them are from India, two from Ceylon, two from Indonesia and one from East Pakistan. None of them countenances the radical view presented in 2(a) of the

General Note that "whatever inherited institutions or skills or values disappear in the course of scientific and technological progress in Asia deserve to go";¹ all of them recognize the values inherent in traditional cultures, suggest ways and means for the selective preservation and promotion and even revival in some cases, and are generally in no way opposed to a creative and judicious integration of the machine economy with the traditional arts. "In the words of the American philosopher, Prof. Mc Keon, 'The problems of old values accessible to all and of establishing new values on a new material foundation will not be solved by going back to something lost or discarded, although it does require a restatement and re-embodiment of many traditional values in new forms. We shall not improve artistic taste, cultural insight or religious sensibility by abandoning refrigerators and bath tubs'; nor by establishing a new élite or perpetuating the old".² Of the five papers from India, three are contributed by Professors of the University of Madras. Mr. R. Bhaskaran in his paper, "Traditional Culture, its character and modes of preservation", (pp. 179-186) sets out answers and conclusions to the questions raised in the General Note. Mr. Sambamoorthy offers quite a number of suggestions for the resuscitation and encouragement of the traditional arts of music and dance in India (pp. 119-123). Dr. V. Raghavan covers some common ground with Prof. Sambamoorthy in his paper, "Vedic Chanting, Music, Dance and Drama" (pp. 168-176), formulates practical steps for supplementing "the written manuscript tradition of the Vedas" with the "living oral tradition", for remedying the existing drawbacks in music, dance and drama, and for the maintenance of proper standards in these arts. The other two papers are on "Indian Crafts and their Design Problem" (pp. 90-98) by Mr. Ajit Mookerji and on "Arts in Rural India" (pp. 157-163) by Mr. Amar Nath Sehgal. To some extent they cover common ground. Mr. Mookerji stresses the fact that traditional crafts still survive in their pure form in many rural localities and deplores that the revivalist efforts of modern artists and governmental agencies tend to sacrifice proper designs for the sake of foreign and

¹ See *Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia*, pp. 60-67.

² Bulletin, 1958, p. 65.

internal markets; Mr. Sehgal emphasizes the dire need for the revival and propagation of the arts in rural India, describes what developmental activities have so far been taken up and how the role and values of art are not fully made use of in Community Development work. Dr. Shahidullah's paper on "Traditional Cultures of South-East Asia" centres mainly on the richness of Folklore in the widest sense of the term as an important element in the study of traditional cultures and elucidates it with illustrations from the folklore of East Pakistan. Of the two papers from Ceylon Mr. Jayavardhana's paper "Folklore, Music and Dance" (pp. 135-143) somewhat falls in line with Dr. Shahidullah's, for he presents therein an overall picture, in a historical perspective, of the wealth of traditional culture in Sinhalese folklore, and of the impact of European influences on the life of the Sinhalese; and like Mr. Mookerji and Sehgal Mr. P. E. E. Fernando in his paper "The Traditional Arts and Crafts of the Kandyan Provinces" (pp. 102-113) discusses the state of the arts and crafts of the Kandyan provinces and gives an idea of the problems that those who contemplate taking action to revive these arts and crafts may have to face, and makes some suggestions for their revival. The remaining two papers are from Indonesia: R. M. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto: "The Preservation of Javanese Vocal Music in Indonesia" (pp. 124-133) and Mr. M. D. Mansoer: "Some aspects of traditional culture in Indonesia" (pp. 146-154). Both invite attention to the regional variations even in one and the same traditional art due to the fact that Indonesia is a spray of thousands of islands lacking a closely knit common Indonesian traditional culture. Mr. Sutjipto, however, states that the Republic of Indonesia is trying to evolve a unifying common traditional culture finding its expression in the Bahasa Indonesia which has been accepted as the National language of Indonesia. While he chooses Java for his study of the preservation of Javanese vocal music, Mr. Mansoer elucidates his theme, the causes of deviations in the very unique Adat (customary law) by the impact of Islam and of the West with reference to Minangkabu (West Sumatra).

The discussions on all these papers reported at the end of each paper and a careful consideration of the several

suggestions embodied therein were crystallized by the final adoption of resolutions recommending concrete steps within the concerned countries which their governments could take through their development authorities or other agencies, as also Universities and non-official social and cultural bodies for the preservation of the best elements of their traditional cultures. It was felt by the members (1) that the large background issues raised in the Director's note did not admit of any agreed categorical answers in the form of resolutions, though they had served a purpose in stressing the complexity of the issues involved and the consequent need for caution in the formulation of practical recommendations; and (2) that the seminar should frame its resolutions in a general way so as to be applicable *mutatis mutandis* to all countries in the region, and should not enter into details relating to particular countries or areas except as illustrations to elucidate the line of action recommended in the general resolution. With these ends in view the seminar adopted the resolutions given in pages (192-7) of this report.

It remains to add that the Rapporteurs' report, having already appeared in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures* for 1959, pp. 49 to 55, has not been reproduced here.

K. A. N.

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PART I

GENERAL NOTE

AND

EXTRACTS FROM REPORTS

AND FIELD STUDIES

REGIONAL MEETING OF EXPERTS ON TRADITIONAL CULTURES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Madras—November 3-7, 1958

I. GENERAL NOTE

UNESCO's programme for 1955-6 included a series of University seminars and field studies in the countries of South-East Asia to assess the present state of their traditional cultures. Their aim was to prepare the ground for suggesting practical measures towards the conservation of all that is of abiding value in the traditional arts, skills, tastes and ideals of these countries and their integration with the new values and techniques that are being rapidly adopted from the West in the necessary effort to raise their standard of living to a tolerable human level in a reasonably short period. The reports of the seminars and field studies have provided the basis for the book on *Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia* (published by Orient Longmans for UNESCO) and for the additional notes which accompany this paper. While these documents contain a valuable analysis of the existing cultural situation from different standpoints, the discussions are generally on an academic plane, and do not, except in rare instances, suggest concrete programmes of action, by official and non-official agencies, to promote, renew or preserve such elements of traditional cultures as can withstand the impact of the new forces. In the annexures to this paper are brought together almost all the concrete suggestions that could be found by an examination of all the documents collected by Unesco in this regard.

The aim of the present regional meeting is to recommend concrete steps, within the countries concerned viz. Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Pakistan and India, which their governments could take through their Development Authorities or other agencies, as also universities, and non-official social and cultural bodies, for the preservation of the best elements of their traditional cultures.

The following is a tentative appraisal of the themes for consideration by the meeting:

(1) Is the impact of technological progress on ancient traditions and its results any way different in Asia today from what happened earlier in the West? For instance, is there reason to hold that urbanization may not be as rapid or as complete in Asia as it has been in the West? Is it desirable and possible to halt the pace or the thoroughness of urbanization? Will such action be protective of traditional cultures, skills and values?

(2) (a) Some argue that whatever inherited institutions or skills or values disappear in the course of scientific and technological progress in Asia deserve to go, and that attempts to stop the process will be costly and perhaps futile. Technological changes alter most of the conditions of life and change them radically, rendering impossible the maintenance of individual traditions of national civilizations.

(b) Are artistic traditions an exception to the rule and can they go on existing untouched by the new conditions and accept a situation in which new art forms take their place side by side with them?

Connected with this is the question whether any, and if so what, part of traditional aptitudes and attainments should be preserved as long as possible as museum pieces? Instances like Vedic chanting, iconography, service tenures under Ceylon temples, may be considered.

(c) Another view is that Industrialization in the West has produced results ruinous to the spiritual balance of the people, and it is still open to Asian countries to avoid these extreme consequences without forgoing altogether the advantages of modern machines and gadgets. Some methods suggested towards securing this end are: I. Absolute priority to general education, moral, social, economic, and scientific in varying degrees to each region particularly to the remote country areas. II. An intelligent and discriminative adaptation of Western techniques in the contexts of the peculiarities of each region; III. The observance of a certain order in the sequence and coordination of activities e.g. priority to adequate food production before mechanization or automation in industry goes far, regulating the balance between capital intensive industry and labour intensive industry, between large scale and small scale industry, between mechanical and handicraft industry and so on.

(3) Are religion and philosophy, ethical and cultural values and standards particularly endangered by the new milieu? If that be so, what remedial action is possible? Is the unrest in the student world related to this milieu? Should religious or moral instruction be an integral part of the public educational system?

(4) Are Asian civilizations refreshed and strengthened by modern technology or, on the contrary, their characteristic mental habits, social structures like family organization, position of women etc., and ways of life, endangered by it? Will the pace of change affect the quality of the results, and if so is it necessary and possible to regulate the pace so as to avoid a total upset of cherished values? Technology may ensure the better living for which there is widespread craving, but not necessarily ensure spiritual progress or may even involve regression in this sphere.

To some extent, the underdevelopment of Asian countries may be ascribed to their philosophy of life which did not recognize that a high standard of life was an objective of primary importance in life. It is a western view that economic and social progress does not impede moral and spiritual advance, but may even be the prime condition of fostering it. Both these outlooks have resulted from centuries of development. There is an obvious forcing of the pace of grafting western ideas and techniques on the eastern, and a cultural revolution appears inevitable. Technical advances, increase in production capacity, and a rise in the standard of living, may therefore be regarded as objectives accepted by Asian countries. How far will the demographic factor upset calculations and retard progress? Is family planning necessary and acceptable?

(5) How far is democracy, political and social, inimical to the maintenance of standards and tastes in the fine arts? Does it necessarily involve the elimination of an élite? Does the substitution of state patronage of the arts for the semi-feudal patronage of the past involve any adverse results to them? If so can they be counteracted and how?

The key to human progress lies in the maintenance and increase of creative initiative, and the ability to introduce purposeful innovations; it implies the safeguarding of philosophical, moral and religious freedom.

A brief discussion of the general questions raised above may fix the attitude of the conference to the problems facing the region as a whole, and may profitably precede the formulation of specific recommendations on the problems related to individual countries. These latter may be considered in the light of the extracts from the reports of seminars and field studies that follow which have been grouped according to countries. It will be noticed that while for Ceylon, Pakistan and India we have much guiding material, that for Burma and Indonesia is much less. These excerpts and the book, *Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia*, are meant only as aids to thought in the formulation of recommendations and are not to be considered as in any way restricting the scope of the deliberations of the meeting.

II. EXTRACTS FROM REPORTS AND FIELD STUDIES

BURMA

Burmese Traditional Culture

I. Burma has served as the meeting place of two of the world's greatest civilizations—India and China. From these civilizations, Burma has developed an individual culture which dates back to a period much earlier than the Norman Conquest of Britain in 1066 A.D. Burma forms an integral part of the great rice-bowl of Asia and with the agricultural and mineral wealth of her plains and hills, and the industrial potentialities to be derived from these, the country looks forward to an era of prosperity. The main races in Burma besides the Burmese proper are the *Shans*, *Karens*, *Kachins*, *Chins* and *Kayahs*.

II. *Religion*: Nearly 90 per cent of the people of Burma are Buddhists and are so intensely devoted to their religion that to be Burmese implies that they are Buddhists also. The impact of western and other religions has made little impression in Burma over the ages. The pagodas of Burma are an indication of the wealth, care and thought which have gone into the building of temples and worshipping according to custom. Following independence from British colonialism on January 4, 1948, many historic pagodas and monasteries have been repaired and reclaimed at great cost, while the beneficent influence of Buddhism in the government and administration of the country is marked.

III. *Culture*: Though Burma has developed her own individual culture, traces of Indian and Chinese influences in religion, philosophy, literature and language are still evident. The Golden Age of Burmese history manifested during the Pagan dynasty of Anawrahta in the 11th century was marked mainly by achievement in architecture, but some advancement was also made in sculpture, painting, music, ceramics and other branches of art. In the pursuit of these, religion was the predominant factor and the religious spirit inspired all cultural activities.

Music: The ancient system of Burmese music was obviously Indian in origin as seen from the adoption of the Indian system

with its septatonic scale, instead of the pentatonic scale of the Chinese. The prototypes of most Burmese musical instruments came from India except for the "saing-waing" or circle of drums and the "kye-waing" or circle of gongs which were evolved by the Burmese. The gong and the xylophone were introduced from Malaya through the Mons. While the popular Burmese "hne" or oboe may be traced to Persia or India.

Drama and Dancing: Drama was introduced from India in the form of acting the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. This was followed by local Burmese productions and by productions from Malaya and Indonesia. From the drama evolved most of the Burmese classical styles of dancing. Later styles of stage and stage decorations indicate an influence of the Persian style. Modern stage dramas still cling to classical and historical themes, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Pāli Jātakas.

Burmese dances and "pwes" (theatrical performances) have been little affected by the mutations of modern times, and the Burmese have not at all inclined towards the western forms of dancing. The national dances and plays of Burma are of four kinds, and the accompanying musical orchestra bears strong resemblance to the "gamelan" of Java and Bali.

Zat.—The most popular "zat pwe" or drama is based mainly on incidents from Buddhist lore, on the birth-stories of the Buddha, on the life stories of ancient kings, and on the Rāmāyaṇa. The "zat pwe" gives expression to the whole gamut of human emotions and usually ends on a note of tragedy. Most "zat pwes" occupy an entire night in duration.

The "anyein pwe" is a form of musical comedy. There is no actual plot, and the audience is kept in roars of laughter by the banter and repartee of the dancing girls and clowns. For the "anyein pwe," the Burmese language is particularly well suited to the *double entendre*, while the graceful art of dancing by the "minthamees" (dancing girls) is highly engaging.

The "yein pwe" or ballet with its group dancing and singing presents a colourful, graceful spectacle. The "yokthe pwe" or marionette show, with its skilfully manipulated human and animal figures is a unique form of entertainment. These "yokthe pwes" may consist of particular "zat" sequences or the entire drama of the "zat".

Sculpture: Sculpture in Burma remained strongly under Indian influence till the end of the 12th century. It did not attain a high standard until the process of Burmanization was complete and Burma could find her own forms and designs.

Painting: Early paintings in Burma are all concentrated in Pagan and consist solely and exclusively of murals representing Buddhist subjects in a variety of compositions, patterns and designs. The process of integration in painting began from the 12th century, and in the following centuries Burma developed her own form, design and direction and started in that field of creative expression which today is a pride of the country.

Weaving: Burmese methods of weaving were supplemented by the introduction of Indian weaving methods in the Pagan period. But the best weaving methods introduced later were those from the Manipuris, who had perfected the art of making wavy or twisted patterns in relief called "acheik". Of late Burma has adopted some of the latest methods from Japan and the West, as well as the Siamese method of weaving with twisted silk yarn. Today weaving in Burma is quite advanced and is an important national asset and a source of national pride.

Arts and Crafts: Burmese artisans have been famous for ages for their workmanship in gold and silver. They are the famous wood-carvers and furniture makers of Asia and they are also noted for supplying to the world precious stones like jades and rubies. Since before the 11th century the art of jade-engraving was already a very important artistic link between Burma and China. Gem-cutting and the glyptic art of Burma calls for attention and survey by art historians.

Burmese cultural expression is generally through the channel of craftsmanship. That is why in Burmese society the artisan has a high and honoured place. Of all Burmese art and craftsmanship, that art which culminated in the stately ship of the Irrawaddy, the "hlay", appears to be one that has attracted most attention.

Burmese artisanship also extends to looking-glass mosaics with the application of vivid colouring to glass-work, as well as to wood-carving. Burmese teak-carving is almost unique, and this type of artcraft is exemplified in the palace at

Mandalay, while the Burmese artisans of Moulmein have practically a monopoly of ivory carving, showing great variety and delicacy of design and execution.

Silverwork occupies probably the most prominent place among the arts and crafts of Burma. The 12 signs of the Hindu Zodiac are embossed in silver together with other animal designs and scrolled traceries, which are also to be found in wood-carvings. Burmese gold and silverwork is of very close affinity to that of Thailand.

Lacquerware: Interiors of Buddhist monasteries provide excellent examples of gold lacquer-work. Prome and Pagan are the centres of Burmese gold lacquerware, which may now be displayed in small boxes, tables, etc. The coloured lacquer-work of Burma has attracted world attention. Mythological Buddhist motifs form the stock designs of the artist. Lacquerware are probably the only objects still conserving the various compositions and designs originated during the glorious Pagan period.

Lacquerware manufacture was introduced from the Yuns of northern Siam, and these wares are still known as "yun". It is also believed that the famous art of bamboo-and-silk umbrellas with their colourful designs as produced in Bassein, have a close affinity to that of Siam. Like the Chinese, the Burmese were also fond of moulding objects in bronze, especially huge bronze bells. The largest bell in Burma is to be found at Mingun near Mandalay. It is a close rival to the great bell of Moscow, for the Mingun bell possibly weighs from about 90 to 100 tons. It is 12 feet in height and 10 feet in external diameter.

Language: Today, Burmese is the main language spoken and written in the country, though it is but one of the languages of the Burma group. About 70 per cent of the people of Burma speak a language of this Burma group as the mother tongue. The written language is the same all over the country though local variations occur in pronunciation.

Literature: Burmese writings have been dominated by Buddhism and much of the best work has been that of religious teachers. Burmese literature is very rich, extensive and interesting. There has also been some literature in Mon, Shan and of late in Karen too. Burmese literature has a wide range of style and composition, from the heavy and the

serious to the light and merry. In the early days the subjects were mostly scriptural and didactic, but later on romantic elements were introduced with pure aesthetic aims.

From the middle of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century Burmese literature received a great fillip from the patronage of the Alaungpaya dynasty and some influence was felt from the impact of other civilizations which came to be represented in Burma. Works on history, statecraft and science, and shorter verses and odes instead of long narrative poems grew into great popularity. Various literary refinements of the folk song were also made. An innovation was introduced when writings were accomplished in a style mixing rhymes of verse with cadences of prose. This style was used for drama and discursive serio-comic narratives. Romances of court life, literary epistles and love letters gave Burma a many-sided and interesting literature.

Modern Burmese writers are, however, drawing on some current resources. In the past the prosaic styles have seldom been supple and adequately precise for modern tastes. It is in the direction of improved clarity and ease of expression that Burmese writers are moving today. Western influences have had their effect on Burmese literature, but the nationalist movement leading to Independence has arrested the sway, and Burmese literature today, while retaining its pristine purity, is drawing on current resources to enable it to take its place among the modern languages and literatures of the world.

Cultural Renaissance: The Union Government of Burma's realization of the role of culture as a significant aspect of nation-building led to concrete encouragement by the formation of a Ministry of Union Culture in April 1952.

As a first major step in the programme of cultural renaissance, a Cultural Institute was established in June 1952 for the development and maintenance of a National Library, National Museum, National Gallery of Art, Academy of Art, and a National Academy of Music, Drama and Dancing.

Activities of the Institute include the publication of cultural literature, provision of classes and lectures on subjects of cultural interest, holding of periodical exhibitions of fine arts, and also displays of music, drama and dancing. Production of musical notes and recordings of classical songs, of books and pamphlets

on folklore, custom and traditions, and microfilming of ancient Mon and Burmese literature have also progressed rapidly.

Education: Burma is proud of her high rate of literacy, estimated at about 60 per cent. For this achievement the Buddhist monastery system in Burma deserves major credit. Burma has always had a tradition of education and when the British first arrived in Burma in 1826, the proportion of men who could read and write was found to be higher than what the British had expected to find. Under the British Educational System, school education was purely literary and was based entirely on the passing of examinations to qualify for subordinate posts in the administration of the country. British educational policy also provided for the introduction of three distinct and disparate types of schools in Burma. These were the Vernacular, the Anglo-Vernacular and English schools. Today Burmese has replaced English as the medium of instruction, and English as a compulsory second-language is introduced from the fifth grade. Education is free, and plans are under way towards compulsory education in the country.

The Educational Plan for Pyidawtha (Welfare State) 1952-53 is based on the five fundamental principles—to ensure a universal knowledge of the three R's among all citizens of the Union; to ensure the production of sufficient number of technicians and technologists; to train and equip young men and women so that they can adequately and efficiently perform their various duties as citizens of the Union; to eradicate illiteracy and produce men and women who possess the Five Strengths, "Bala-Ngadan" and to perpetuate democracy within the Union. The system today provides not only for the academic side of education, but also for technical and vocational training on a progressive scale. Institutions providing vocational and technical education are the Artisan Training Centres, Handicraft Schools, State Schools of Fine Arts and Music, the Government Technical Institute and Veterinary College at Insein and the Saunders Weaving Institute at Amarapura near Mandalay. An Agricultural Institute was opened in 1954.

The main institution of higher learning in Burma is the University of Rangoon, established in 1921. University

education is also free, though fees are charged for attendance of classes in preparation for entry into the legal profession. The university has an annual enrolment of over 7,000 as compared to about 1,500 in the pre-independence period. Education at the university, as in most institutions of learning in Burma, is co-educational. One major post-independence achievement in the field of education has been the establishment of the Mass Education Council. The main function of this body is to help in the general eradication of illiteracy in the country. Under its programme about 125 education centres for adults have been opened in various rural areas. Voluntary village organizations are encouraged to carry out various health and other measures.

Various other institutions also render invaluable contributions to the field of education in the country. These include the Burma Translation Society, the University for Adult Education and the Burma Research Society. In this period of educational transition, the work of the Translation Society in producing technical, scientific and educational text-books assumes a role of great importance.

Industry: Burma remains principally an agricultural country. Besides oil, mining and forestry concerns, other industrial enterprises are concentrated in rice mills and saw mills, which together employ the largest percentage of industrial labour. Other minor industrial concerns include small industries in rubber goods, cement, sugar, leather goods, furniture, soap, aluminium ware, matches and manufactured tobacco. The recent Pyidawtha schemes formulated in 1952 included an 8-year industrial development plan.

CEYLON

Ceylon University Seminar

I. RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction: In the final analysis the present time is one of cultural malaise, and the whole question of the preservation and development of our cultural heritage merits State concern, for the State alone can furnish adequate assistance at

the national level. Some of the immediate measures which might profitably be pursued may now be enumerated:

(1) *Kandyan Dancing*: The establishment of village Dance schools, wherever possible in the homes of the outstanding exponents: the necessary equipment should be supplied and a monthly grant paid to keep the teacher above want and to enable him to concentrate on the practice of his art. The progress of the six village schools founded by the Kandyan Dancing Panel of the Arts Council of Ceylon has been so satisfactory and has revealed such a wealth of talent that the scheme has aroused great enthusiasm among professional dancers, and numerous applications have been received for the establishment of more schools. Since there is no lack of pupils or teachers, immediate provision should be made for 50 such schools. Singing and drumming should also be taught either in these dance schools or in separate institutions.

(2) *Painting*: An institution like the Government School of Art could teach Kandyan and low-country temple painting under the guidance of well-known painters. The Mineralogical Department should be consulted on the availability or otherwise of the traditional mineral pigments.

(3) *Crafts*: The scope of the work done by the semi-government Kandyan Arts Association should be extended. Its present policy seems to be mainly directed towards achieving the second of the two objects for which it was founded in 1893, viz., (i) to preserve the purity and originality of Kandyan art work, (ii) to form a medium between the intending purchaser and the producer of such work. Resources should be provided to enable the Association to pay more attention to the purity and originality of Kandyan art.

(4) *Remuneration*: The scheme already begun in the case of Kandyan dancing may successfully be tried in the case of the other arts and crafts. (The Director of Rural Development and Cottage Industries proposes a scheme whereby the government assures prominent artists and craftsmen a regular monthly allowance of Rs. 150/- on condition that they impart their skills to apprentices, and maintain standards).

(5) *Museums*: The activities of the national museums, particularly the Kandy Museum, should be extended. At present no attempt is made by their administrators to educate

the public and the craftsmen themselves. Periodical lectures with illustrations from Museum Exhibits can create a new interest in the traditional arts and crafts. Encouragement can also be given to students and teachers to undertake research into the different aspects of traditional arts and crafts.

It must be emphasized that the combination of a Natural History Museum and an Ethnological Museum is undesirable. Since the Kandy Museum is confined to cultural exhibits, the ethnological and archaeological exhibits of the Colombo Museum should be transferred there, and the Museum of Science and Technology maintained in Colombo.

(6) *Recording:* The written tradition is to be sought in palm-leaf MSS., many of which are in an advanced state of decay. The task of gathering and editing the material requires a team of full-time research workers, possibly working under the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Government Film Unit should be entrusted with the task of making motion pictures of the various dance-forms, ranging from the basic steps to the more elaborate and complex movements. Similar films should be made of the work of the craftsmen. Illustrated monographs are a desideratum.

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S A T T H E I N T E R N A T I O N A L L E V E L

Dr. Sarathchandra sounded a note of warning regarding the leadership to be expected from the English-educated *élite* which still held positions of authority and influence. In fact, enthusiasts are invariably discouraged by their cynicism and indifference. He urged that much encouragement could be provided by international agencies working through *bona fide* individuals and institutions: "Strange though it may seem, therefore, a foreign organization or individual is, at the moment, capable of viewing things in a more impartial light. The Rockefeller Foundation has been interested in attempts to revive the Sinhalese theatre, and has given an opportunity for a member of the (university) staff to study the theatre in the Orient and in the West, and it is likely that more help would be forthcoming from this Foundation for the purchase

of equipment for theatrical activities. Recognition by a foreign body also has, in the psychology of the Ceylonese mind, a stamp of authority which no native could ever hope to give."

The recommendations made in the next section for action at the university level are contingent on the funds available for these purposes, and the implementation of these proposals may be expedited by financial assistance from international foundations for the equipment mentioned below.

RECOMMENDATIONS AT THE LOCAL (UNIVERSITY) LEVEL

It was agreed that the University could provide leadership in cultural matters in a variety of ways, and the following specific measures were suggested for immediate implementation:

(a) The institution of a Department of Art and Archaeology:

The lack of academic courses in the fine arts and archaeology should be remedied without delay. It was only in the last two years that a fine arts section was begun in the library, and this section should be expanded. At present lectures in the history of art are duplicated in several Departments (e.g., Sinhalese, Sanskrit, Buddhist Civilization), while there is an archaeologist in the History Department.

(b) A Museum of Ethnology and Art should be established:

Until a separate Museum building (which is part of the University Scheme) is ready, accommodation should be provided in the new library. Since the plan for a Central Museum has been shelved by the Government, funds may possibly be granted for the institution of the University Museum of Art. Recently the University Council provided funds for the purchase of a set of *kolam* masks, to form the nucleus of an ethnological collection. The de Saram collection also awaits exhibition.

(c) Research:

(i) Equipment such as cameras for colour photographs, recording apparatus, etc., should be assigned to a central body such as the University Arts Council and the services of technicians made available to the academic staff. In

view of the limited funds voted for such equipment, the duplication of photographic and other equipment in several departments is undesirable and wasteful.

- (ii) Where the basic equipment can be borrowed from the Department of Education (Prof. Green stated that the photographic and tape recording apparatus in his department were at the disposal of the University as a whole), grants should be made for films, recording tape, travelling, and technician's expenses in the case of specific projects sanctioned by the Council, e.g., for the collection of material for a monograph on Kandyan Painting.
- (iii) Monographs produced by the staff should be published without undue delay.
- (iv) Social *Surveys* to ascertain the role of the arts and crafts in the village should be undertaken.
 - (d) Extension lectures open to the public should be sponsored by the University.
 - (e) The papers read at this Conference should be published with the least possible delay in order to make the public aware of the efforts made by the University in the development of the arts (This has been done—K.A.N).
 - (f) An annual Festival of Arts should be organized at Peradeniya. It was decided to have the first Festival during July 20th to 30th, 1956 and to have represented as wide a variety of traditional arts as was financially and organizationally possible. Among other things it was suggested that there should be several shows of Kandyan dancing, an exhibition of traditional and folk art and traditional crafts.
 - (g) Provision should be made for a permanent theatre and art-gallery.
 - (h) Every encouragement should be given to student societies interested in the traditional arts.

It was recognized that the provision of a theatre and art-gallery may not be possible in the immediate future, but the implementation of the other recommendations, particularly the annual Festival of Arts, might induce private benefactors to assist the University.

II. TRADITIONAL SINHALESE CULTURE

Puppetry—by J. Tilakasiri

Puppetry is in a very neglected state today, threatened with extinction in the not too distant future.

The educational value of puppetry is immense and varied, and if we follow the admirable example set by the Educational Puppetry Association of England, we could introduce puppetry into the schools of Ceylon with profit. Educationists have discovered that puppetry is one of the subjects ideally suited to lead students into many connected subjects in the school curriculum. Art, Drama, Speech Training, History, and similar subjects have been introduced almost effortlessly in some countries, through puppetry. Above all, it would promote initiative among the pupils and instil in them the desire to experiment.

The making, painting, dressing and manipulation of puppets can easily stimulate the artistic and creative aptitudes of the young ones. As they advance and show more talent, puppet stagecraft (including the study of scenery and equipment) could be taught. Finally, students who have dramatic ability can devote themselves to the more specialized tasks of puppet-play writing and play production. In all stages of instruction, films and lectures on puppets and puppetry could be used as additional devices to kindle their interest. If the educational authorities could be persuaded to accept a scheme of educational puppetry to be introduced into both rural and urban schools, it would produce far-reaching changes in the system of education and also serve the cause of puppetry.

Simultaneous with the introduction of educational puppetry, an effort should be made to educate our puppeteers and the craftsmen who work with them, to evolve modern methods and techniques.

A permanent collection of model puppet types of all countries and model puppet stages of the countries where the art is actively practised should be secured and kept on exhibition as is done by the E. P. A. in London.

Some Psychological aspects of Cultural revival—J. E. Jayasuriya

The movement for the revival of traditional cultures must first take root among the upper classes—the classes of the socially élite and intellectually élite—derive its momentum from there and gradually infiltrate downwards. Only then can the process of gradual abandonment of the traditional cultures by the common man be stopped.

Our first task is to save our English educated upper class from their artificial bi-culturality and to reintroduce them to the heritage of our traditional cultures. They should be active practitioners of the traditional cultures in the sense that they have actively learned the practice of an art or craft and do creative work in that art and craft. The practice of an art or craft, even as a leisure time activity, is immensely satisfying both to the individual who practises it and to society in general.

As far as the common folk are concerned, there is a need to revitalize their practice of the local culture not only by emphasizing it as such but also by opening their eyes to world culture, so that the latter might become suggestive for the richer growth of the former. The essence of culture growth in a nation lies in the imaginative creation of new forms that nevertheless retain a distinctive national flavour.

The revival of those of the arts which have an occupational or caste association, and the crafts almost every one of which has an occupational or caste association, is sure to be psychologically more difficult than the revival of the arts which do not have such associations. An essential condition for their revival seems to be that they should be uprooted from their caste and occupational associations, so that they are no longer attributes of a caste or occupation, but become related to life at all levels in community. This means that the custody and development of such arts and crafts must be shared by segments of society outside the caste or occupation with which these arts and crafts were traditionally associated.

The best prospect for the survival and development of some of the arts and most of the crafts is that practice on an exclusively occupational or caste basis should be replaced by practice on wider basis by all segments of society. The school is the natural institution in which such practice should be encouraged.

Artist-craftsmen drawn from all sectors of society should replace the existing caste-associated artisan-craftsmen, if there is to be a revival of the indigenous crafts on an enduring basis. The traditional apprenticeship basis for the training of craftsmen, though it may have produced good craftsmen in the past, is inadequate in our present social context. Under that scheme, learners will be often drawn from a narrow caste group and often exclusively from the lower socio-economic groups. Besides, the apprenticeship method of training concentrates too narrowly on a mere technique on traditional lines and leaves out entirely the concept of a general education. The product of apprenticeship training is invariably an artisan-craftsman with a low status on the socio-economic scale. Apprenticeship training must therefore be replaced by education and training at schools of arts and crafts, where those specially gifted in the arts and crafts (as evinced by the competence shown in these during ordinary schooling) could pursue to an advanced stage the studies of arts and crafts in the setting of a wider cultural education. Thus recruitment to these schools would be from all strata of society. This scheme also visualizes the coming into being of a body of arts and crafts teachers, drawn from all sectors of society, and possessing in addition to technical competence a broad foundation of general education.

It is important that the emoluments paid to them and the status accorded to them should in no way be inferior to the emoluments paid or status accorded to teachers of other subjects.

What provision exists is often exotic—there are places where one can learn ballroom dancing and modern European languages, for example—but seldom indigenous. Where in Colombo can a University educated man learn, as a leisure time activity, carpentry, mat weaving, basket making or any other indigenous art? Where are the institutes, on a voluntary or governmental basis, of adult education where the indigenous arts and crafts are taught, and the enrolment is possible of a pioneer set of learners drawn from among the social and intellectual *élite*?

The dangers of a too rationalistic or a too intellectual approach to religion must be recognized and conscious effort must be made to retain the traditional rituals associated with

religion. These rituals tend to perpetuate many elements in our indigenous cultures. Does not, for example, the Kandy Perahara provide a panorama of our indigenous culture and will it not be cultural suicide if a too intellectual approach to religion makes us abolish the Perahara? From this point of view, it is important that the social and intellectual *élite* of the community must be persuaded to participate actively in religious ritual. If this does not happen, the common man may himself give up ritual, thinking that it is debasing in the modern context. A return to religion, and this includes the ritual of religion, can be a most powerful factor in the revival of indigenous cultures, and the opportunity offered by Buddha Jayanti must not be lost.

There is a group of arts whose practice is based on myth and superstition. Bali ceremonies and tovil are examples of these.

It seems to me that their continued existence at the cultural level can be encouraged by the staging of annual festivals at which prizes could be awarded for the best staged ones. Such national festivals could, of course, embrace the whole field of the indigenous arts and crafts and would be an extended form of the national Eisteddfod of Wales.

The social or intellectual *élite* must become patrons of the arts and crafts by actively and creatively practising them.

The state should actively co-operate with voluntary organizations, *firstly* by the rehabilitation of the arts and crafts in the schools of Ceylon (and in this respect, the best known urban schools of the country—those which set standards for the others—are in greater need of reform than small rural schools which did not any time get completely cut off from the stream of tradition), *secondly*, by an adult education movement that is rich in its provision and includes the traditional arts and crafts, *thirdly*, by arranging on an extensive scale to make visual or auditory records as the case may be of existing paintings, dances, folk songs, etc., which are in danger of being lost, *fourthly*, by the organization of national festivals of arts and crafts and the taking of other steps to ensure their continued existence and development, and *fifthly* by the exercise of a measure of control over the influx of machine-made foreign articles that threaten local products.

INDIA

Andhra University Seminar

I. DANCE, DRAMA AND MUSIC—Vissa Appa Rao

D A N C E

DANCE has to be made compulsory in Girls' schools at all stages. The stereotyped and meagre content of Bharata nātyam has to be improved and enriched. Andhra had developed a great variety of dance types and styles of high merit and their traditions are scattered in different parts and corners of the state. They must be surveyed, discovered and collated. Sound and film records have to be taken wherever necessary. The Art of Dance thus reconstructed would be the pride of Andhra.

Also, steps have to be taken to educate and cultivate the public taste by organizing regular recitals and demonstrations of prominent and expert dancers.

D R A M A

Reconstruction work has to be undertaken to revive the Art.

The old type of Dance-drama of the Kūchipūdi School has to be revitalized. The texts of the plays particularly of *Bhāmā Kalāpam* have to be collated, compared and rewritten. The traditional technique has to be reshaped into one authentic form and the dance-drama has to be staged with some changes conforming to modern conditions but consistent with the traditional foundations of the Art.

On the other hand institutions providing training in the art of the theatre, including the study of stage craft and play production have to be set up. Plays bearing on modern problems of the life of our country have to be written by competent and gifted writers in colloquial Telugu prose. Such plays must be staged by trained actors and adapted to modern tendencies. Such performances will be of great educative value and benefit to the people. Further, the meaning and purpose of the second five-year plan in its

variety can be brought home to the masses and their active co-operation and sympathy secured by adapting the Art to present needs.

MUSIC

Teaching of Music must be made compulsory in schools starting from the primary stage. A General Institute with modern equipment has to be established for training music teachers.

The place which music occupied in family and society has to be restored. Every family with some education must consider Music an essential part of their life and culture.

Again, apart from providing general education in Music in schools and colleges, provision has to be made for advanced study at the University level with research facilities. Individual attention has to be paid to the students at the stage and music imparted through personal touch as in the Gurukula of old. Only then, highly qualified, able and creative artistes can be produced.

For the dissemination of knowledge in Music and Dance, books have to be written in Telugu, text books, as well as books for general reading. Outstanding treatises on Music and Dance like the *Sangita Ratnākara* have to be freely translated into simple Telugu. For I earnestly hope that active and comprehensive steps will be soon taken by our State by not only taking the lead to remedy the sad plight of these traditional arts but also by initiating and encouraging the growth of a number of organizations which will take up the task of development and popularization of Music, Drama and Dance as an essential part of our National Life.

The Andhra University may emulate the example of the sister universities of Madras, Annamalai and Kerala. It can take up the management of the dramatic activity which has been doing some useful work already inside its campus and improve it. It can encourage its students and teachers to help the working of the rural reconstruction schemes and the Community Welfare Projects through properly organized dramatic activity.

It can requisition the help of competent persons to tour different centres in Andhra and educate the people in the

fundamentals of Dance, Drama and Music. The great aim and purpose of Classical Music can be brought home to the people through the exposition of Tyāgarāja Kirtanams which are a mine of suggestive thought and moral and spiritual grandeur.

A similar effort can be made in the case of dance by arranging suitable demonstration-lectures at different places.

The University is the only agency which can start a department of research and produce useful results.

II. FOLK SONGS—Hari Adiseshuvu

(1) A number of social welfare centres and Students' Social Service Leagues are working in backward or rural areas in our country. By suitably training the personnel working through these agencies it is possible to cultivate, foster and preserve the literary talent in the common man. For example the habits of story reading and story writing can be encouraged in children. Story telling by the elderly to others (Golla Suddulu) and story telling by children to one another can be organized by those institutions. The social welfare institutions can also undertake organization of festivals (local as well as national) in the areas where they work, taking care to see that folk-songs and folk-dances of that community suited to the occasion dominate the programme.

(2) It is proposed to train 88 students in Andhra University Colleges for service in village development schemes during 1956. The period of service is five weeks. I suggest that more students may be trained for service in villages and encouraged to assist the revival of literary interest in the common man.

(3) The All India Radio is broadcasting folk-songs collected by scholars and sung by musicians. They are not folk-song programmes in the fullest sense of the term. I suggest that the A.I.R. will do well to select the rustic musicians in villages for singing the songs, record and broadcast them.

I request the Social Welfare Organization, the Universities and the State and Central Governments to take active steps on these lines and provide necessary finances for the purpose.

Delhi University Seminar

From the discussions of the Seminar it was evident that there was near unanimity about the need of an organization for promoting in a well-planned and systematic manner studies, discussions, and researches on the various aspects of traditional Indian culture. Such an organization should also function as the platform for the promotion of various kinds of cultural activities in a co-ordinated and planned manner inside the University campus. In addition, it should make adequate arrangements for imparting instruction in the traditional arts like music, painting, dancing and dramatics.

In view of the paucity of resources needed for the immediate implementation of the plan as a whole, it was felt that the recommendations should be made in such a manner that they could be implemented in well-defined stages. At the initial stage, the available local resources, together with whatever assistance is available from other sources, in India or from abroad, should be fully utilized. At subsequent stages, the scope of the proposed organization needs to be expanded, with increased assistance from various agencies in India and abroad.

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

(1) An Institute be established in the University of Delhi for the study of, and researches in, traditional Indian culture in its various aspects. It should, in particular, promote systematic surveys of changing attitudes in the newer generations towards the traditional culture; careful analysis of the impact of the new ideas, movements and developments—social, economic, and political, on the traditional culture; and, research-studies designed to bring out the basic components, and the valuable elements, of the traditional culture. The results of its surveys and studies should be published in suitable form, and made widely available.

In the second place, this Institute should organize various kinds of cultural activities in the University campus, in which the members of the University community should participate as far as possible. In addition, the institute should take

steps to co-ordinate the cultural activities in the various constituent units of the University.

Thirdly, the Institute should have attached to it a school of fine arts, for imparting instruction in traditional painting, music, sculpture, dancing and dramatics. For this purpose, the institute should seek the assistance and co-operation of such agencies as the Sangit Nāṭak Academy, Sāhitya Academy, All India Radio, etc. Members of the University community should be encouraged to avail themselves of these facilities. Fourthly, the Institute should organize extension lectures, discussion-meetings, seminars and conferences on issues relating to the cultural situation in the country, from time to time.

(2) It is suggested that in the initial stages, the Institute should, in the main, seek to promote the first two of the above objectives, the remaining ones being taken up at the subsequent stages.

To begin with, the Institute may carry on its work under the direction of a body of University professors, with the active co-operation of the University departments of Philosophy, History, Economics, Sanskrit and Hindi. Suitable programmes for fulfilling the above-mentioned objectives may be drawn up by this body, with the assistance of these Departments, it being understood that the minimum financial and other requirements will be duly met.

For carrying out surveys and research-studies, it is recommended that, four fellowships of the value of Rs. 500/- per month be instituted immediately—one each in the following subjects—Sociology, Indian Philosophy, Indian History, and Indian Economics.

For the present, the Institute may carry on its functions in the existing buildings of the University, where suitable accommodation for locating its office may be provided. Cultural performances organized by the Institute may take place in the Convocation Hall, or the halls of the constituent colleges.

The Institute should have an office at its disposal with one typist, one stenographer, one supervisor, and one daftri, to begin with, for carrying on its secretarial work.

The following is an estimate of the expenditure of the Institute in the first year of its working:

1. Office establishment (Typewriting machines, Duplicators, Furniture, and Stationery)	..	Rs.	8,000
2. Salaries of the Staff	..	Rs.	8,500
3. Fellowships (four)	..	Rs.	24,000
4. Organization of cultural activities	..	Rs.	5,000
5. Publication of bulletins, and papers	..	Rs.	5,000
		Total ..	Rs. 50,500

In subsequent years, the annual expenditure may be nearly Rs. 45,000/-.

(3) At subsequent stages, it is suggested that the Institute expand its activities, by establishing a school for imparting instruction in fine arts, and organizing discussion-meetings, symposia, seminars, and extension lectures.

At this stage, the Institute should have a suitable building of its own, and a whole-time Director of the rank of Vice-Chancellor, and a staff, which should include 4 members of the professorial rank, 8 members of readers' status, and 16 research-fellows, with an adequate number of research assistants. Details about the estimated annual expenditure of the Institute, when it is functioning at this full-fledged level may be drawn up at the appropriate time later on.

Madras University Seminar

I. Dr. Indra Sen in his paper 'A General Psychological Appraisal' makes the following practical recommendations:

1. That Science and technology should duly be integrated into the essential outlook of traditional cultures and not just allowed to invade, overwhelm and disrupt it.

2. That industry should not be allowed to become production-centred and make man a living tool of its process. Man must always remain the same.

3. That the process of industrialization should be culturally guided and the transition from the village community to the community of the industrial centre also smoothly achieved.

4. That the new social development represented by democracy, liberalism, humanism, materialism etc., too, should be discriminatively readapted and integrated into traditional culture.

5. That traditional culture too should be critically re-examined and made aware of its responsibilities in the modern world.

These practical recommendations primarily suggest the major issues of our life today. Under each one of them many measures and steps will have to be taken to realize a more intelligent growth of material life. And if we in Asia are able to see the full situation, recognize the forces of the modern world, bear in mind the essential truth of the traditional cultures, and courageously attempt a true synthesis of them, then the results we might achieve would very likely be for the good of mankind as a whole.

II. (A) Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan in his paper, 'Indian Culture and the Industrial Age' points out that the University can help in the cultural revival of our people in two ways:

1. by reordering collegiate education, and

2. by giving an active and constant lead to the people.

Education should be not only for bread-winning but also for soul-making. The University should not be content with being an ivory tower; it must go to the masses and let them have the benefit of the light of knowledge. It would also be good if there is co-operation between the university and the āśramas in the matter of educating our people. While the universities should impart to them the correct view of life the āśramas should guide them to the proper way of life. And it is a basic teaching of Indian culture that a view, however correct it may be, will be futile if it does not lead to exaltation of life, and the way of life one leads will end in a *cul de sac* if it is not informed by true vision.

(B) He also makes the following suggestions in his 'Note on the Philosophical Tradition of South India.'

The Universities of South India could actively co-operate with some of the religious institutions in their efforts to safeguard and foster the essentials of our cultures. The efforts may take several forms:

i. Publication of classics in the various languages with such aids as are necessary to make them intelligible to the average educated person;

2. dissemination of the fundamental precepts of ethical and harmonious living;
3. removal of tensions that are born of a wrong understanding of religion;
4. teaching the people ways of entertaining themselves that will educate as well as enoble them;
5. promotion of the arts and crafts that not only provide occupation and a living but also nurture noble sentiments;
6. running of educational institutions that will seek to develop character in the students, besides imparting knowledge to them;
7. encouragement of social service activities in such institutions, etc.

III. Dr. K. C. Varadachari in his 'Recitation of the Vedas and Other Sacred Texts' says:

The recitation of the Veda is inculcated as part of religious ritual in all South Indian temples. It is of course due to the temple-centred cultural tradition that they are even today being preserved. But many of these reciters do not get encouragement from the public and temples adequately and continuously. These reciters can have no retirement, as their memory for sound forms and utterance has staying power. They have to be therefore continued in service as long as they wish. Schools of Veda recitation in the traditional way have to be founded in different places and even in the whole of India to revive the pure methods of memorizing and recitation of the Veda. Veda is not only valuable as the fountain source of all other literatures, but also because of its immense help to semantics.

IV. *Report of the Madras Seminar:*

The following views were expressed and recommendations made:

(1) We should preserve and even encourage those traditional ideas and institutions which are in consonance with the present view and way of life and

(2) All those elements of alien culture that are necessary for our well-being and do not militate against the continuity of our culture should be welcomed and built into the fabric of the life of the community. When, however, there should be a clash or competition between two or more alien elements of culture and the question became one of choosing between

them on grounds of received sentiments or obvious utility, the Seminar seemed inclined to the view that sentiments should not be brushed aside but must even have priority.

(3) Turning to specific issues, the Seminar devoted much attention to problems of religion, caste, family, marriage, etc. It considered the problems of marriage and the possibilities of breaking down caste through miscegenation, but did not feel that the non-sacramental view of marriage and the adoption of new ways would occur on any scale likely to affect the structure of Indian society within a measurable period of time. The evidence from many parts of the world outside India was also cited in support of the traditional Indian view of marriage, and there was general agreement that legislative and administrative measures to reform the laws of marriage and even the offer of inducements by governments or private agencies to promote such reform would prove inadequate and even harmful. As regards the family, though it was agreed that it was too late in the day to revive the joint family system in the exact way in which it is believed to have flourished in the past, yet the Seminar recognized that the family as an institution was again not peculiar to India and showed little signs of absolute breakup in any of the settled civilizations of the world where masses of people have lived together for several centuries. The Seminar was not impressed by the experience of new societies peopling new worlds and having had yet little time to settle down, and felt that the brief experience of very new and mobile communities had little relevance to the problems of the people of ancient societies. On these topics the viewpoint that prevailed in the Seminar might be described as decidedly conservative. Carefully organized field investigation in large and representative samples of the population is no doubt essential before a safe generalization could be made, but it might turn out that the view that prevailed in the Seminar is also the view of the people of the region.

(4) As regards caste the Seminar may be said to have succeeded in stating the problem which perhaps was as near an approach as possible to solving it. While there was unanimous disapproval of the past and present evils of the caste system, the Seminar could not exclude the prospect that this organization which for many centuries had obviously

survived by its capacity for constant and successful adaptation might still prove viable on those terms. The need for an objective and comprehensive study of this sociological phenomenon without any prejudice for or against it was stressed at the Seminar, as also the extreme inadequacy and unreliability of the material now available for such a study.

(5) It was the view of several participants that religion was in a healthy condition and seemed to have sufficient resistance to survive foreign impacts, rationalist ideologies, and social and political movements based on free thought.

(6) In handling these complicated and profound problems of maladjustment or disequilibrium, the Seminar felt that legislative action which is rightly contemplated and often undertaken to remedy the situation would become needless if there could be a more organic and natural recovery of equilibrium. Considerable stress therefore was laid on the value of the example which a thoughtful leadership can set in every field. An informed and organized public opinion, the Seminar felt, may be more effective than specific legislation for the redress of temporary maladjustments.

(7) The Seminar agreed that in many activities and projects of Government, there is scope for a Bureau or like unit charged with the duty of continuous scrutiny of proposals and measures, public and private, which might originate from real or fancied, economic and other needs and pressures, especially from the angle of their interaction and ultimate effect on traditional culture and the necessity of maintaining a new harmony or equilibrium organic to the total and developing ethos of the people. The institution of such a unit and its functions are worth examination by governments, universities and private groups interested in the cause. The sense of the Seminar was that this very vital, real and indispensable function is best entrusted to an autonomous body comprising: (i) experts, (ii) informed non-officials and (iii) administrations, which would receive the trust and acceptance of the whole community and would undertake, among other things, to encourage experiments in arts and crafts, to provide maintenance to artists and other creative workers, and to help to conserve art treasures which might otherwise perish or leave the country.

(8) There were many specific problems which came up during the discussions, like the artificial concentration of population in urban localities which not only ensures squalor and discomfort but also stimulates anti-social practices, the break up of families and the decay of culture. It was felt that it was practicable, if only the need was realized, to organize industry in a way that would not require such enormous concentration and to locate it in a way that would not disfigure the face of the countryside, or debauch the people. The Seminar was particularly anxious that before more artisans are encouraged or permitted to move into cities great care should be taken that the fresh milieu is adequately prepared for their reception so that the subsequent adjustment will be neither painful to families nor disruptive of society.

(9) On arts and crafts the general view of the Seminar was that the amenities of technological civilization could be distributed in this area in its present state of development without inviting the deplorable cultural consequences that had attended such innovations elsewhere. Considering the great outlays on housing, public building and large and small scale industries made by the government, the Seminar felt that more attention to cultural amenities, to the needs of proportion, and to the several intangible values that go to constitute culture, can be paid with very little extra expenditure and with immense advantage to the cultural life of the people. This same general outlook informed the discussions of the Seminar on the products of industries and it was felt that in design and execution the continuing skills and traditions of local artists which were in themselves worthy should be supported in every possible way.

(10) As regards the language and communication it was the view of the Seminar that the assimilation of foreign elements, no matter from what part of the world they come, is essential and in fact inescapable in the growth of the language of any community that has not decided to stop growing.

(11) The Seminar desired to recommend to UNESCO, the Government of India and other interested authorities the necessity of establishing units for the conduct of thorough field investigations as quickly as possible, because the data needed for valid conclusions for the use of governments and public opinion making bodies are not of such kind as will

wait for the investigator and which should be quickly secured and analysed if valid conclusions are to be drawn in order to forestall developments detrimental to the cultural life of the people and therefore capable, in the long run, of defeating their original purpose itself.

(12) The Seminar was also impressed by the need to establish permanent institutes, preferably under the auspices of universities where relevant data on the many fields of culture could be collected, the work of the several scholars in the fields of sociology, anthropology, fine arts, languages, history, economics, philosophy, psychology etc. could be brought together at seminars and discussion groups, and direction and impetus may be given for programmes of research as well as projects designed to promote greater understanding of cultural issues among the scholars as well as the general public of the several countries of the world.

Rajaputana University Seminar, Jodhpur

Resolutions and Suggestions by the Seminar

(1) The Seminar greatly appreciates the very useful activity of the Unesco in organizing the Seminars on "The role of the University in the Development of the Cultural Life of the Communities" and thanks the Unesco for giving the University of Rajaputana an opportunity to organize the Seminar at Jodhpur for reflecting on the general educational policies and planning for the future.

(2) The Seminar requests the University to start a Cultural Centre at Jodhpur under its auspices and on behalf of Unesco.

(3) The Seminar also requests the Director and the Joint Director to prepare in consultation with the Vice-Chancellor, plans for starting such a Centre in Jodhpur for the preservation and advancement of our cultural traditions which will include study circles, discussion groups, forums, music, drama, dance, Radio talks etc. The Cultural Centre is not to be for providing mere enjoyment to the community, but for a reflective understanding of all aspects of our cultural life. (For plan see annexure.)

(4) The Seminar is of opinion that the Cultural Centre should share the findings of its studies with rural areas by sending them to High Schools, elementary schools etc.

(5) The Seminar thinks that most of the important aspects of our cultural life, to preserve which serious attempts have to be made, are and have to be of universal validity and significance.

(6) The Seminar notes that the present Indian Universities are not the outcome of the natural growth of the cultural life of the community, but are introduced into the community from above, though for its benefit. This has created a gap and even a clash between the traditional life of the community and the cultural ideals of the University. The Seminar suggests to the University that ways may be thoughtfully devised to remove the clash and to assimilate and adapt each to the other.

(7) The Seminar notices a psychological hiatus in the personality of the student between the traditional life he lives at home and the intellectually free life of a modern university he lives in the college. Ways may be found to make the University life part of the general life of the community, so that the student will not develop a split personality.

(8) The Seminar recognizes that the University is the reflective centre of the cultural life of the community; and if the University has not been recognized as such by the people, it may find out ways and means for making people realize this aspect of the nature and role of the University. The University should organize cultural shows for the benefit of the general community also, and enable the people to understand their universal significance. These shows should be regional, national and international.

(9) The Seminar thinks that the activities and funds of Youth Festivals are to be spent not merely for finding out an outlet for the extra energies of the youth, but are to be given a thoughtful direction towards the maintenance of those traditions which are vital to the life of the community, and which have universal significance.

(10) The Seminar suggests that the students should be made to understand the significance of extra-curricular activities so that their activities may not be unco-ordinated and without direction.

(11) The Seminar suggests that a nucleus of competent persons should be created by the University for considering the problems raised in this connection, for promoting the necessary activities at the University level, and for making suggestions at the lower levels.

(12) The Seminar believes that important changes are taking place in our outlook, which are having effects on our philosophical thought.

(13) The Seminar is of the view that the essential spiritual truths of our traditional philosophies should not be given up, but should be reoriented towards the actual and possible changes in our community life, which are and will be brought by industrialization and technology; so that any suddenness and abruptness in change can be prevented.

(14) The Seminar recommends that, as the Radhakrishnan Committee Report suggests, students may be encouraged to spend some time in meditative practices, which have to be understood as mental exercises for the development and integration of individuality and personality, but not as mystic practices of any denominational type.

(15) The Seminar suggests that the University Department of Philosophy whose aim is to develop the free and reflective life of the community, have to encourage constructive criticism of the social implications of our philosophies.

(16) The Seminar recommends that the University should arrange, besides discussion groups and forums, radio broadcasts on the social implications of philosophies as well as the spiritual implications of the new social changes which are and will be brought about by standardization of life through industrialization and technology.

(17) The Seminar suggests that new constructions of philosophies, including the scientific, economic, aesthetic, ethical and spiritual aspects of human life, are to be encouraged by the Universities, and people are to be made to realize the humanistic importance and relevance of religions and philosophy.

(18) The Seminar also recommends that the subject of comparative philosophy should be introduced and encouraged in order to promote an international outlook.

(19) The Seminar recommends that the University should encourage research work in contemporary social problems.

(20) The Seminar is of the opinion that emphasis should be placed on the study of old literature produced and preserved in Rajasthan in the context of research work under the University of Rajaputana.

(21) The Seminar thinks that a plan for some subjects pertaining to the old literature of Rajasthan may be made in advance. This can be done in consultation with those who are eligible to conduct research work.

(22) The Seminar resolves that the University be requested to begin collecting manuscripts or copies of manuscripts available not only in Rajasthan but also in the India Library.

(23) The Seminar suggests that the University should suggest to the State Government the establishment of an Academy of Literature to give an impetus to the rising writers on different subjects.

(24) The Seminar also recommends that a Translation Bureau be established by the University to see that standard works from other developed languages are translated into Hindi.

(25) The Seminar suggests that an Annual Conference of the writers of Rajasthan should be held to review the annual literature.

(26) The Seminar resolves that early steps should be taken by the Government of Rajasthan in conjunction with the University of Rajaputana for authentic translations into Hindi of all available literature in English contributed by foreign Indologists bearing on the cultural history of Rajasthan with a view to making it available for purposes of study and research by local scholars not having the advantage of being able to read it in the original.

(27) The Seminar resolves that a planned programme of linguistic survey of the various dialects of Rajasthan be prepared from the point of view of determining the exact extent to which their original structural and phonetic peculiarities have either disappeared or have been substantially modified in the process of gradual linguistic transformation that has been brought about by the increasing contacts with Hindi in particular and other major regional languages.

(28) The Seminar also thinks that the University should encourage the study of the traits of the people of Rajasthan like heroism and loyalty, and suggests their proper canalization and utilization for national benefit.

(29-31) The Seminar recommends that the University should evolve methods to:

- (i) disseminate knowledge in the community;
- (ii) encourage publication of literature for spreading a liberal and rational outlook in the community.
- (iii) encourage members of the teaching staff to participate more and more in the life of the community.

(32) The Seminar recommends that comparative studies should be encouraged in all subjects for promoting international understanding.

(33) The Seminar recommends that the study of Sanskrit should be encouraged in all possible ways.

(34) The Seminar recommends that an up-to-date library with all dictionaries and other books for reference should be established.

(35) The Seminar is also of the opinion that the religious and charitable tendencies of Rajasthani people should be kept alive.

(36) The Seminar recommends that Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālas should be well looked after and strengthened, and their economic condition improved.

(37) The Seminar suggests the diffusion of the knowledge about architecture through:

- (i) inclusion of lessons in the text-books of Literature and of chapters in the text-books of Civics and History.
- (ii) visits to the places of architectural interest under proper guidance.
- (iii) extension lectures on the subjects by competent persons at least once a year in every educational centre.
- (iv) Radio talks.
- (v) 16 mm. films, epidiascope etc.
- (vi) exhibitions.

(38) The Seminar suggests that "Art Centres," with proper libraries attached, be established in educational centres. These may be run under the direction of honorary directors chosen from the staff. Students should be encouraged to take up regular and methodical study in the arts as extra-curricular activities.

(39) The Seminar further suggests that the refresher courses may be started to make the teachers aware of modern developments in the arts, to foster international relations.

(40) The Seminar recommends that in collaboration with the Archaeological Department and the Academy of Fine Arts, research work should be sponsored by the University in the Architectural Heritage of the region.

Annexure to the Resolutions of Rajaputana University

In accordance with the main resolution No.3, the Director and the Joint Director met on the 16th April 1956, and made the following recommendations to the University: that

(1) The University start a Cultural Centre at Jodhpur under its own auspices.

(2) The University obtain a building for locating the office of the Centre, and for placing the exhibits etc. and for arranging lectures and other shows.

(3) The centre include activities like discussion-groups, shows, meetings and conferences in the fields of Philosophy, Religion, Literature (folk and classical), and fine arts, like dance, music and drama.

(4) The University arrange for adding a children's theatre to the open theatre for which sanction has been obtained, and arrange for the equipment of both the theatres.

(5) The University obtain grants in aid from the State and the Central Government.

(6) The University co-ordinate the cultural activities of all the institutions under it through this Cultural Centre.

(7) The University associate the Youth Festivals, celebrated every year, to this cultural centre, in order to give them direction and guidance.

FIELD STUDIES

REPORT ON THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORK ON CULTURAL TRADITIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

by

AMAR NATH SEGHAL

I. CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ONE of the main tasks of the Social Education Organizer in conducting the community development work in his block is to organize cultural and recreational activities such as folk dances, folk dramas, kathās, kirtans, bhajans, exhibitions and melas.

At present a degeneration of these traditional forms has been noticeable, and thus efforts to improve them without affecting their good points are very desirable. Moreover the urban outlook is penetrating the rural areas and somehow creating a dislike for the existing forms of cultural activities and thus these are neglected.

Folk Dances

These may be studied, and of course the manner of presentation can definitely be improved upon without affecting the original technique. The expert folk dancers must be located (it has been done in many places) and they should be persuaded to teach the skills to other sections of the community and teach the young people. Folk dances must be organized on a large scale and especially at the time of festivals and fairs and often it is done in many community areas.

Folk Dramas

These should be studied very carefully and the traditional techniques of presenting them should not be disturbed at all.

At many places the urban stage technique is introduced with screens, wings and costumes, thus somehow spoiling the simplicity and the sobriety of these dramas which otherwise make more impact on the simple village folks. The traditional themes and the contents of the folk dramas should, however, be examined and improved upon after discussions with the villagers. There is no bar that new dramas with a social content should not be introduced. However, it is a known fact that so many new dramas are introduced in the village environments, that the folk dramas are somehow being neglected and forgotten. At many places the Social Education Organizers have started writing dramas and these people with the fairly polished urban education and outlook hardly touch upon the folk themes which are prevalent in the midst of the people.

II. ARTS AND CRAFTS OF DELHI AND RAJASTHAN

(A) DELHI

RECOMMENDATIONS

Most of the arts and crafts maintained a continuity of old and often the skills were handed down from father to son, which is not the case at present. One cannot now conceive a potter teaching the same art of moulding clay to his son or his nearest relation, for the simple reason that he himself finds it difficult to live by this profession. The same reasoning applies to other crafts, e.g., stone carving, wood carving, embroidery etc. The result is that most of the artisans and craftsmen are encouraging their children to take to education with the hope that such an education will ensure their livelihood. Those who advocated the idea of learning a skill or a craft under the guidance of a master no longer think in those terms.

Presently more and more schools are coming up in rural areas. There used to be an insistence on boys' education, but lately the villagers are paying more attention to the girls' education. It is true that education is essential for the full growth and development of personality, especially in

rural areas, but such an education will not offer subsistence to every one. Hence education in rural areas must be reorientated to the needs of the population, and offer courses in arts and crafts at the schools so that the traditional skills are taught to the children, who can later adopt some of them as professions, according to their aptitudes. Moreover, the traditional artists and craftsmen should be taken into the education departments to serve in the schools and colleges, to impart education in their professions. This will not only provide employment to these poor artists and craftsmen in the areas, but also save their arts and crafts from complete extinction. Of course the Education Department will have to relax their rules and regulations and accept these workers for teaching jobs on their professional competency, instead of the usual insistence on Diploma or Degree holders, who often find employment though they stand much inferior in comparison to these traditional workers. So each school in a village should employ a traditional artist or craftsman to teach the boys and girls the art or craft prevalent in the area near by. An art or craft progresses and develops according to the availability of the material, local conditions and demands. If some young people are trained early in life, they will definitely help the growth of such artistic handicrafts as may be prevalent in the areas near by.

Moreover, with the change of outlook of the villagers wishing to build more schools, the state affords only half the funds, while the rest is collected as donations from the villagers, often given in the shape of food grains. When such donations are demanded, the people have to work harder to produce more food before they can contribute; that means the agriculturists are heavily taxed in order to provide for their children's essential education. This results in unconscious condemnation of all other professionals who cannot contribute such donations. This holds true especially in regard to the craftsman who cannot earn much to feed himself, not to speak of contributing toward the cause of education. Thus he condemns his own work which he regards as worthless, since as a member of the community, he feels he is not doing his duty. In order to save these craftsmen from such condemnation, the State should come forward either to provide total grants for such schools or

give them subsidies to develop their arts and crafts so that they are able to earn more.

It is also felt that the individual in this upsetting economy cannot work as a single-handed workman, unless he works in the village and caters only to the community around him. With more demands on himself and for providing comforts and education to his children the workman needs to earn more. This will only be possible if small co-operatives of these workmen are formed and provided good tools, implements etc., by the State. Moreover, their products should be collected by agencies to be sold in villages as well as in emporia and markets in urban areas, and side by side, they should be supplied the raw materials. The idea of co-operation has become the principal basis for the organization of economic activity and this objective has been accepted on the Governmental level. In procuring raw materials and selling his products himself, a lot of time and energy is wasted by the artisan, which if utilized in work, will raise his production considerably. Taxes and other duties should not be levied on these raw materials as well as the resultant products.

Moreover, specialized agencies should survey the tastes and demands of the people and submit their periodic reports to the workmen. This will enable them to produce products which are in great demand. Such agencies should provide some subsidy to these workmen, which can stabilize their trade, give them wages, make research from time to time in order to bring prosperity in their midst. Unless such a scheme is undertaken, there is no hope of ameliorating the conditions of the present day workmen, who, undeniably, find themselves in a blind alley, not knowing where to go, what to do, and how to organize their professional production.

Such co-operatives of stone-carvers, jewellers, could be formed and this will also save these workers from the tyranny of the middlemen who exploit them tremendously.

In regard to the potters, I feel that a co-operative of 8-10 such workers may be organized. Since these workers do not find work for more than 2 months in a year, they may be taught techniques of glazing etc., so that their works could be exported to urban areas.

It is the duty of a welfare state to provide the individual the profession of his choice and not let the seasons or

circumstances determine his fate. These potters have an excellent sense of touch and they can certainly do the job of moulding and shaping earthenware rather than succumb to other menial jobs for earning livelihood.

(B) RAJASTHAN

RECOMMENDATIONS

Rajasthan poses many problems because of geographical peculiarities. People are so scattered and shifting that one cannot find a noticeable concentration of artists and craftsmen for whom steps may be taken to ameliorate their conditions. But some concentrations of these workers are available in towns or wherever subsistence amenities (especially water) are available.

Dyeing and Calico printing is a speciality of this state and concentrations of workers engaged in this profession are found in Jaipur, Sangamner, Udaipur, Chittorgarh, Nathadwara and so on. Co-operatives of these workers should be formed at all these places so that they are rid of the worry of buying raw materials and selling their finished products. Moreover, a design artist should be attached to each of these co-operatives so that new modified designs and colours are printed and dyed on fabrics from time to time. It must also be the primary aim of the institutions or co-operatives to see that along with the economic objectives the aesthetic side is also stressed.

The arts and crafts of Rajasthan are famous all over India and even abroad, but there is no marked improvement in the quality and designs of their products; stone carvers, toymakers, calico-printers, ivory workers etc., have all been producing goods which have been appreciated by people all over, but slowly with the changing times, they have to reorientate and modify their designs. A design centre should be established in this State, in order to make researches on new materials and designs for decoration and utility purposes. A section of this centre should keep records of the needs of the people, what can be produced to be marketable; also organize short-term courses for the traditional craftsman

to pick up the various techniques employed in their crafts. Such a design centre will go a long way in bringing up the aesthetic standards of the products.

At present there are 5 major Emporia and 6 small ones, where the famous arts and crafts of the State are sold. Slowly a psychological need amongst the consumers has been created, but the fact remains that articles are not available in large numbers and of good quality. This is primarily due to the scattered and shifting life of some of the artisans and craftsmen. Unless these people are permanently settled and their work organized, neither will they be economically benefited nor will the produce be of a certain standard in quality and design. The Government and the welfare agencies should go all out to organize a concentrated living of these nomadic tribes amongst whom some excellent craftsmen are still found.

One reason for the deterioration of the products is the lack of good craftsmen. The petty industrialists engage the workers and give them sufficient advances, which they could never return or compensate through their products. These workers are then asked to work as slaves on the minimum possible wages and produce whatever the shopkeeper or the petty industrialist likes them to create. If co-operatives are created and adequate long term loans and subsidies are given to the craftsman, they will go a long way in giving impetus to the crafts, some of which are becoming extinct.

Transportation is another big handicap that stands in the way of the normal working of the craftsman. In some parts of the State roads do not exist, and long wooden poles are used to signify the routes. During the stormy months even these get covered with hillocks of sand and journeys become very difficult. Hence for a craftsman to go to the market area for buying the raw materials and then again to go and find the customers means a lot of time and trouble. Such individual efforts to procure raw materials and sell the finished products dissipate a lot of energy of these craftsmen which if utilized in the actual work would bring more economic benefits to them.

Organization of toy makers', ivory carvers' co-operatives is very essential in places where a concentration of workers is available. An artist to give designs to the craftsmen and an appraiser to select the stuff worthy of sending to the markets,

should be attached to such co-operatives. It is the business of the Government to inculcate a sense of appreciation for worthy products and this will be possible only if aesthetically satisfactory products are sold in the market. Moreover, all the other products which do not bear the seal or stamp of the appraiser validating the sale of the product in the market, should be confiscated. Such a step, if taken, will definitely bring back the beautiful creations of toys for which the State has been famous.

For the craftsmen who are scattered and keep on shifting, mobile common facilities centres should be organized. At such centres the craftsmen should be invited to come and work and learn the techniques of their trade. The Government is planning to start mobile common facilities centres for Godia Lohars, who are born blacksmiths and are nomadic people. Such centres should give facilities in all sorts of crafts available in the area.

Training cum production centres should also be organized for the various crafts. Training needs to be given to the young and uninitiated, and if proper guidance is available, some of these people can be master craftsmen in time to come. In such centres the people will earn while engaged in learning processes.

As regards the painters and sculptors, the Government must engage their services. If 1-2% of the cost of every Government building is devoted to the art work, it will go a long way to provide work to the traditional artist and also beautify the building. Unless such a step is taken, there is no hope for the survival of these painters and sculptors.

It must also be admitted that the so-called Basic schools started by the Education Department hardly enable the children to express their thoughts and emotions in creative work. The activities in such schools are repetitive and monotonous, and thus the children after some time lose their interest. In one of the schools the children were found to be engaged in spinning, a craft which could not be termed creative. The Education Department should revise the syllabus of these Basic schools and provide such activities in the curriculum as would develop amongst the children a sense of design, colour and touch, which are the essential requirements for pursuing any art or craft work.

(C) THE REGION OF KANGRA VALLEY

RECOMMENDATIONS

Painting

The painters, Gulabu (from Samloti), Lachman (from Guler), Kripa Ram (from Sidpur) and a few others, who are old, should be brought under one roof at Kangra. They should be given all facilities to work and paint what they like, but, in addition, they may be educated towards the various aspects of Five-Year Plan, social and other reforms which may also be subjects of their creative endeavours. Moreover, at least twenty-five fellowships should be awarded to young boys and girls to work under the guidance of these masters. These talented young boys and girls should be selected from all over the valley and given facilities for necessary training to become professional painters later in life. The fellowships should be extended up to a maximum of four years, after which period a diploma may be awarded to those whose work reaches a certain worthy standard.

In addition the paintings should be salvaged from all over the valley, from the 'rulers' families', landlords and artists, and bought in order to house them together at one place. Kangra is best suited, and a museum of this school should be established over there. This will go a long way in educating the people of the valley in this aspect of their traditional culture. This museum can also provide enough materials to art historians and critics to undertake research in this neglected field of art.

All the Primary and Secondary schools in the valley should be supplied with photographs and prints of the famous paintings. Painting and History of Kangra Art should also be an integral part of the school curriculum. This will enable the younger generation to understand and express their thoughts, feelings and emotion in this traditional mode of expression. Lectures, demonstrations, mobile exhibitions etc., should also be undertaken in this valley. An annual exhibition of the works of these painters from the valley may be arranged in various other towns in the country, and similarly the urban artists' works

also exhibited in the valley, in order to create a cultural exchange of urban and rural art.

Design: In addition to the establishment of a museum and art academy, a design research centre may also be established. The villagers weave their cloth during the long winter evenings and they often use the decorative patterns and designs they have inherited from their ancestors. This research centre should compile the existing designs, reorientate and modify them where necessary. The published works of this centre should be freely distributed to the villages in the valley through the community projects personnel, who should keep a check and make a record of their effects on the craft of weaving and submit periodic reports to the research centre.

Stone cutting: Stone cutters should also be given facilities to form co-operatives. All the Government buildings should make it a point to use their material in order to rehabilitate their art of cutting and shaping stone.

INDONESIA

Gadjah Mada University Seminar

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Industry

1. As the "Industrial art" was born to fulfil every day needs and then became a source of living for the people, so we must intensify its development for instance by government support in the widest sense of the word (*e.g.*, technical improvements, material assistance, subsidies etc.).
2. To promote cooperation with artists to heighten the quality of its aesthetic value.
3. To use modern processes in native industries.

Fine Arts

1. The founding of museums as:
 - (a) Museum of the contemporary Indonesian paintings and statues.

- (b) Museum of local art.
- (c) Museum of classics, containing copies of statues made from latex and gyps.
- 2. The founding of abdicate Exhibition Rooms in towns which would be of importance for organizing the International Bienal Institute in Indonesia in the future.
- 3. Subsidies by supplying materials and by ordering paintings and statues from eminent artists besides the existing annual purchases.
- 4. Intensification of the publication of books about Fine-art, starting with the publication of the biographies of the Indonesian artists with copies of the most successful paintings.
- 5. Films of the products of classical and modern fine arts.
- 6. The creation of new methods in teaching of the fine art which enables the growth and the development of the children's creative power.
- 7. Interest in the position of the Indonesian artists.
- 8. Decorating the government or private buildings worth Rs. 1,000,000 or more with statues, reliefs and paintings.
- 9. Stimulation for the painters especially in Jogjakarta to make them willing to foster the development of the fine art in other provinces, and to enlarge travelling exhibitions.
- 10. Town embellishment with monuments, statues, etc.

Gamelan and Dance

- 1. The establishment of an Institute for Dance Karawitan and Gamelan to make scientifical researches.
- 2. The improvement of education at schools about vocal music.
- 3. Discussion leading to a determination of one kind of notation system (titiraras).
- 4. To increase the number of gamelan and theatres so that people can enjoy also its aesthetics.
- 5. That the Karawitan world may take the benefit of the modern technique.

Rural Reconstruction

In order to get a clear notion of the problem of rural community reconstruction it is necessary to organize a seminar which is exclusively prepared for this problem and attended by the experts from the Government, the University and the Society.

Language Teaching

In its development the Malay language, after being influenced by other local and foreign languages, became a subtle and modern Indonesian. That's why the Indonesian language is able to solve difficult problems in all fields of science, politics and society; and also able to be the bearer of the Indonesian culture in the form of literature in all manifestations.

From the point of view of linguistic pedagogy it is not necessary to teach grammar at S. R. and the lower class of S. M. P. In the 3rd class of S. M. P. can be started the teaching of elementary grammar.

PAKISTAN

Punjab University Seminar

General

I. "IT DEPENDS UPON THE NATURE OF RESPONSE"—Dr. G. M. Mehkri

It appears to the present writer that if industrialization is to play its part in raising the standard of life among us, and if, also, it has to do so without blindly disrupting society, we have spiritually and mentally to prepare our population for the change.

The spiritual foundations have to be based upon rational nationalism rather than upon religion and religious attachments outside the land. Such of the religious institutions as may be nothing other than the relics of past foreign imperialism must give place to more localized institutions.

We have to free ourselves from exotic totems and taboos, to the extent possible, and we have to reclaim the culture the land had produced before it was ploughed down under foreign invasions since a thousand years. Then we will build a culture on secure foundations.

Once we begin to reclaim our real cultural greatness extending over five thousand years, we will shake off our prejudice against music, song, dance and sculpture. Then some of our present abnormal, unnatural and obnoxious institutions like the segregation of the sexes will go; and then our artists and poets and painters will find that real inspiration which will provide that firm cultural basis to our society which we shall most need in the impersonal rule of the machine. The reclamation of the most wonderful mythology of our land as mythology and not as any particular religion whatsover, will provide us with those rich sources of material for beautiful dances and songs, so sorely needed in the din of the machine. First Firdausi, and now other Iranians like Dr. Pur Dawood, have shown us how to reclaim our real heritage.

It is such reclamation of our real heritage, which will give us material and inspiration for creative activity in an industrial age. If we don't reclaim it, it is very probable that the impact of a vast scale industrial development may cause greater personal and national derangement than we have any idea about.

Let our response to both the machine and the glorious cultural past of the land be positive. Values will have to get changed or altered. But the cultural achievements of the past will help evoke new values in an industrial age.

II. R O L E O F W O M E N—S. A. Rehman

i. Women should learn the domestic arts and the practical science of bringing up children side by side with imbibing what is best in the thought of the East and the West. The Sociology class started in the University, the village aid plan intended to revive the indigenous spirit of self-help, the institutions like the Lady Shahabuddin College and the College of Home and Social Sciences are steps in the right direction.

2. The second thing that calls for attention is the general indifference of the modern educated girl to religious values sanctified by our past. Our educational system has to check this tendency; for in the final analysis, it is things of the spirit which will mould the character of our nation more than economic progress or purely intellectual development. Islam teaches the middle path and I hope we shall steer clear of the pitfalls on either side of that straight road.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following is the pattern of activities envisaged by the contributors to the present project:

1. A University magazine cheap in price but not in reading material to be published in English, Urdu and Punjabi. Articles to be contributed by students as well as distinguished writers from outside.
2. A University centre for dramatics, art, exhibitions, poetical symposia, music concerts, which should be staffed by the students and helped and guided by the teachers, providing for the widest possible social intercourse so that the whole community can look up to the traditions of cultural work established at the University and consider it as their own business to make it a successful expression of its community life.

This centre should be organized on the lines of a University Students' Union with the aims of developing cultural activities not merely within the bounds of the campus but also to create effective contact with other Universities and Colleges at home and abroad, forging cultural links with the students of foreign countries.

Its outlook has to be national and the forms of culture that it practises have to be in conformity with the best traditions of the country and the nation, yet it must not keep its doors closed to international modes of behaviour and expression. It must choose the best in its own tradition and not reject any ideas as foreign merely because they have grown on foreign soil.

It must invite foreign scholars and students to benefit from their experiences and keep its own students and people aware of what is happening in the world at large.

3. The University should organize a joint Research Council for carrying out research on the problems relating to culture with which the nation is faced at present and to guide it on the lines which are most suitable for a modern community with a very definite and particular traditional cultural background.

In this connection the University should emphasize three levels of consciousness:

(a) That the Pakistan nation has a definite cosmopolitan tradition as the basis of its community integration. The speakers called it Islamic, Muslim, Pakistan etc. Call it what you will, its basis is to be found exemplified in the glorious traditions of architecture of various periods from ancient Indus Valley culture of 5000 years ago through the Buddhist and Hindu traditions down to the Mughal, and Rajput architecture; in the Persian and Arabic literature which forms the substratum of our modern Urdu literature; in the classical music whose present tradition was created by the admixture of ancient Hindu music with the Muslim Mughal genius; in the tradition of painting with Persian and Rajput influences working together to create a definite style which is neither.

But above all these cultural threads which form the mode of expression for our community, there is the spiritual content with its strongest basis in the dominant religion of Islam in this area. This spiritual content has to be kept in view because the majority of people in our country have this psychic basis for their personalities, and any cultural work which does not take it into account is going to be at least superficial from the point of view of our needs, if not worse. This was the most striking feature of the discussions that took place, although there were voices which would assert that our modern needs call for a clean break from the past.

(b) We should be very careful about the very intimate local and regional cultural patterns. One suggestion called for a research centre at the University which should organize field work in the folk language, folk lore, and folk arts. The

riches of folk poetry are to be preserved at this time when they are being forgotten very rapidly.

(c) We should take into consideration the modern elements that have been superimposed on our traditional modes. The international culture and its traditions have to be adopted and not rejected.

Dacca University Seminar

IV. RECOMMENDATION

Our *first* need is a set of experts, if such could be available, from the UNESCO source, or training abroad or locally, under foreign experts, of some of our University men for the purpose. *Second*, expansion of the existing staff of the University to co-ordinate work on traditional cultures with modern knowledge, and values and carry on a systematic research and work for protection and preservation of our cultural relics. *Third*, enlarged accommodation for the purpose of housing and maintaining an academy and office and staff in connection with work on such lines. *Fourth*, and this is the most important of all, funds. An international agency of the type of the UNESCO can do, perhaps, a good deal towards easing the financial problem.

It is heartening that work in this particular direction seems to have begun. The Village Aid Community Project launched by the Central Government of which the UNESCO is aware has got down to business and promises to achieve good results. Its function may profitably be done by mutual guidance and co-operation. To stabilize results and in order to avoid the make-shift nature into which such projects often tend to develop let the Village Aid Project be linked with the University as its intellectual and cultural nucleus. Such association is likely to give it an added status and is as such bound to enhance its psychological significance helping enlarge its appeal. It will further bridge the gulf that now exists between the University community and the rural world. Let the University assume the role of cultural leadership and reduce thereby the bureaucratic control under which it seems at present to be functioning.

V. PRESERVATION OF FOLK SONGS AND FOLK LITERATURE—M. A. Hai

Universities should not only try to seek truth and impart knowledge, but to keep educational policy in conformity with the traditional aims and aspirations of a country. Our Universities at Dacca and Rajshahi can do a lot in preserving and developing the traditional cultures reviewed in this paper.

First, let us take folk songs and ballads. Calcutta University did a lot once to collect ballads in undivided Bengal. It is through this university we now know so much about our Mymensingh and East Bengal ballads. Not all the ballads of Eastern Pakistan have yet been collected. So is the case with folk songs. Rabindranath Tagore himself took a great interest in collecting folk songs. It was mainly through his efforts that some folk songs of Lalan faqir and Madan Baul were collected. Professor Kshitimohan Sen of Śānti Niketan has also done a lot in collecting folk songs from all over Bengal. Of the East Pakistani collectors of folk songs the names of Professor Mansuruddin and poet Jasimuddin deserve unfettered praise. Professor Mansuruddin has been collecting folk songs for the last thirty years. This task is undoubtedly a painstaking one, and therefore it is not possible for an individual to make a supreme effort in this respect all alone. Our universities in collaboration with the newly founded Bengali Academy can appoint collectors of folk songs and ballads and organize musical parties and demonstrations of Ballads from time to time. Further, the department of Bengali can incorporate in its curriculum their study from literary and sociological points of view. Arrangements may also be made at frequent intervals for staging kavi songs and recitals of punthis. This will act as a source of inspiration to our fast dying indigenous kavi parties and reciters of punthis. This will provide them both means for their living and the place in society that is due to them, and thus they will be able to devote more time, energy and talent to the pursuit of their art.

Our universities suffer from various drawbacks, the most prominent of which is the lack of surplus funds at their disposal to undertake these projects. Here, philanthropic organizations such as those of Unesco and the like should come

forward with benevolent grants and help the preserving and building up of our national life.

VI. PRESERVATION AND REVITALIZATION— Dr. Muhammad Sahidullah

The Dacca Museum and the Museum of the Varendra Research society at Rajshahi can materially help the preservation of the traditional culture of East Pakistan by keeping the samples of folk arts such as dolls, toys, embroidered Kanthas (a sort of quilt), Alpana, painted pots etc., the instruments of folk music, and the artifices of folk crafts such as ghani (for producing oil), potters' wheel, handloom etc.

The Radio can preserve and create interest in traditional culture as was done by the Radio Pakistan, Dacca, in March 1957, by organizing a folk festival.

The Government of East Pakistan patronized Art Councils established in all district headquarters and even in many subdivisional headquarters. They may arrange to hold folk festivals as was recently done by the Dacca Radio and exhibitions of folk arts and crafts. This will not only help to preserve traditional culture, but will also revitalize it.

In pre-partition Bengal at the instance of late Mr. G. S. Dutt, I. C. S. Bratachari dance was introduced in schools. Some vigorous folk dances may be introduced in the schools of East Pakistan as a part of the school curriculum. This will ensure the popularization of a section of the traditional culture of the land.

VII. AN INTERIM REPORT ON THE TRADITIONAL CULTURES IN W. PAKISTAN—N. A. Baloch

A. *Recommendations on Art*

(1) Folk-literature of West Pakistan is rich and varied. A considerable part of it is in verse form. Folk-tales, proverbs and riddles are current in very large numbers.

(2) It is necessary to sponsor a survey of the folk-literature of the following main regional languages: 1. Sindhi, 2. Punjabi,

3. Pashtu, 4. Balochi, and 5. the northernmost Dardic groups of languages—Kashmiri, Kohistani and Shina.

(3) These surveys should be financed by the Provincial and the Central Governments, and conducted either by the regional Universities or semi-official literary organizations such as the Sindhi Adabi Board and the Pashtu Academy.

B. *Recommendations on Folk-Songs*

(1) West Pakistan has a rich variety of regional folk-songs, war songs, monsoon songs, seasonal harvest songs, and songs pertaining to weaving craft are common to all the regions.

(2) Regional folk-songs have been a function of time, place and circumstances. With a change in time and in local circumstances, older songs have gradually become obsolete. Modern developments, particularly education and new methods of agriculture, have influenced the traditional way of life, while cinema and radio have inculcated new music taste; these developments have adversely affected the popularity of traditional folk-songs.

(3) Interest in the study of folk-songs as part of folk-literature has been revived after the establishment of Pakistan. Articles have been published in magazines and newspapers, and regional stations of Radio Pakistan have broadcast talks on the regional folk-songs and also relayed actual folk-songs as part of the music programme.

(4) Due to fast changing conditions, more concerted and planned efforts are needed to preserve folk-songs both as part of folk-literature and of folk-music. As a first step, there is an urgent need for a province-wise survey to collect all the regional folk-songs with their literary texts as well as musical versions.

C. *Recommendations on Crafts*

Among others, the following steps are likely to promote the development of traditional arts and crafts.

(a) In the policies and programmes of Government concerning cottage industry, the special position of the traditional village artisan and craftsman needs to be recognized.

(b) The traditional craftsman lacks initiative to avail himself of facilities announced by the Government. Facilities are to be extended to him in his own home. On the spot provision of raw materials and purchase of his goods are basic to his progress.

(c) For an over-all promotion of traditional arts and crafts, it is necessary to build up local initiative, and formulate policies and procedures affecting artisans and craftsmen with their consultation and co-operation.

(d) It is necessary to promote variety and adaptability in forms and designs in various crafts in terms of current tastes and cultural level of the people.

D. *Recommendations on Folk-Dances*

(1) Folk-dances of West Pakistan are literally peoples' own dances. These dances retain their basic folk characteristics of simplicity, informality and spontaneity of performances.

(2) Due to their regional variety and originality, folk-dances of West Pakistan provide an excellent raw material for the development of highly national dances. Dramatic clubs in schools and colleges, professional dancing groups, and theatrical and film companies can make substantial contributions in this direction.

(3) It is necessary to promote research into the nature and variety of folk-dances of all the regions of West Pakistan. As a first step, an official survey needs to be organized to discover all the species of folk-dances, study and describe them fully, and illustrate them accurately.

PART II

REPORT OF THE REGIONAL MEETING OF
EXPERTS ON TRADITIONAL CULTURES
IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

REPORT OF THE REGIONAL MEETING OF EXPERTS ON TRADITIONAL CULTURES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

WITH Unesco's aid, the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, organized a meeting of Experts in the Traditional Cultures of South East Asian countries to discuss the present position of Traditional Cultures in India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon in the light of the impact of modern science and technology and evolve practical recommendations for suitable action by Governmental and Non-governmental agencies for the preservation and promotion of the best elements of the traditional cultures in this region. The Seminar was held on five consecutive days from Monday, November 3, 1958 to Friday, November 7, 1958 in the University of Madras.

Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, inaugurated the Seminar on November 3rd, 1958 in the Senate Room of the University.

The proceedings began with a welcome speech by Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, President of the Institute and Vice-Chancellor of the University. The following is the text of the speech:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my privilege to welcome you on the occasion of the inauguration of a meeting of experts on Traditional Cultures of South-East Asia. I am happy that, on this occasion, we are privileged to have the inauguration performed by the Hon'ble the Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs of the Government of India, my esteemed friend, Sri Humayun Kabir. Mr. Kabir is no stranger to South India. Apart from the many occasions when he has visited us, we recall with pleasure that he was once Professor in a South Indian University, the Andhra University, and has therefore had occasion to know something of South India, its traditions, its culture, its aims and ambitions, its achievements and its potentialities.

To me, it is a great privilege, as indeed it is a source of pleasure, to welcome Mr. Humayun Kabir to this particular meeting. Many of you may not be aware that it was at the insistence of our distinguished guest that, in 1950, I consented to represent India at the United Nations Educational Scientific

and Cultural Organization and the memory of that day, when in the presence of the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, I gave my consent to serve my country as a delegate to represent India on the Unesco councils, is still fresh in my mind. Those six years, when I was a member of the Executive Board and latterly its Chairman, have been years which have been of great educational value to me as they opened before me a vast vista of the conditions prevailing in the different parts of the world and enabled me to realize that, after all is said and done, there are aspects of national life, there are traditions in the various countries which are supposed to be undeveloped and under-developed, which aspects and traditions have had a great part to play in the peaceful life of the people in such countries.

It was towards the close of the 8th Annual Conference of Unesco, which was held at New Delhi in 1956, that the proposal was first mooted by the Director of Cultural Affairs in the Unesco, my esteemed friend, Mr. Kirpal—who is now one of the Secretaries in the Ministry of Education—that, under the auspices of the University of Madras, an Institute of Traditional Cultures should be inaugurated with a view to enable the countries of South East Asiatic Region to get closer together in the study of these various aspects of life in ancient times in these countries and the traditions that have been thus far established. Dr. Luther Evans, the Director General of the Unesco, was equally interested and persuaded me to accept the responsibility of starting an Institute of this kind in Madras. And at the conclusion of the session, a contract was signed for starting such a centre with the assistance of Unesco. Soon after my return to Madras, I had necessarily to consider ways and means by which this programme could be implemented and, at the first meeting of some of the Professors of the University held for this purpose, it was resolved that an Institute of this kind should be started on the lines outlined in the Unesco communication and that a Director should be appointed to be in charge of this centre. I am glad that we were able to persuade Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri to be the first Director of this Institute and I feel happy that under his wise guidance and dynamic leadership the work turned out in various fields of activity has been widely appreciated and encouraged.

The work of the Institute is such that it has necessarily to appeal to a somewhat limited circle of the intelligentsia, and from time to time, it has been of some concern to us how this work is to be carried on for some years at least to enable the Institute to successfully conclude its labours. The University of Madras has agreed to give certain facilities in the shape of accommodation, etc. and to defray the cost of the publication of the Bulletin that is to be issued every year. But, sir, I need hardly tell you that the Universities are ever in the position of Micawber looking out for something to turn up to give them relief. You have been intimately in touch with the affairs of the Universities in India and you have acted as the Chairman of the University Grants Commission. To you, therefore, it is hardly necessary for me to say that the position of the University of Madras, as of most Indian Universities, is such that it can hardly contribute any of the material resources needed for the fulfilment of this task. But I am glad to say that so far as intellectual co-operation and assistance is concerned, it has been given in a large measure by the Professors who have actively associated themselves with the Director to see that the work progresses. Apart from the help therefore that the Unesco may give in a venture of this kind, we look to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, as indeed I venture to state we have a right to, for necessary encouragement and assistance being given to continue this work, if, in their opinion, they feel satisfied that we are progressing on right lines. I do not think I am making any extravagant claim when I say that the records so far fully justify my request to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs to continue the generous assistance that is so very necessary to progress with this task. Knowing you so well as I do, sir, I know that this work is one which will touch a chord in your heart which will reverberate in unison with our own aspirations, and I shall therefore not dwell on this aspect further.

Ladies and gentlemen, the very heading of the symposium, "Traditional Cultures of South East Asia" will probably provoke a certain amount of criticism in some quarters. Today, the world is moving with a speed, undreamt of even a generation ago, and with all the new discoveries that are being made literally every day, it is difficult for anyone to know exactly what the future of world events may be; how things may shape themselves in all aspects of human activity, physical,

material, intellectual and moral. It almost appears as if in this whirlgig of time, there is little possibility of a calm dispassionate study of ancient cultures and what they signify. There is little possibility of people turning their minds back to the conditions that prevailed some centuries ago and asking the question: why is it with all this state of undeveloped and almost primitive life which existed in those days, some of the greatest thinkers and saints majestically walked through and gave to the people that solace, that faith and hope, that peace of mind that generations of long ago seem to have had? It is not just a question of imagining that the past was a heaven on earth. In these days, when people are advocating tranquillizers and various forms of artificial modes of producing a certain amount of peace of mind, one wonders why with all the progress that is said to have been made in an age of science and technology, there should be so much of unhappiness, so much of disharmony, so much of the spirit of envy, jealousy, hatred and all that goes with it, ultimately resulting probably in a conflagration that may well destroy the future of humanity.

I was greatly struck by the speech that our Prime Minister made soon after his return from that very memorable and extraordinary achievement of his, at his age—the hiking trip he made to Bhutan and back. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that he wished that Bhutan would continue to be a peaceful abode of bliss and innocence and that all the modern set-up of so-called civilization may not penetrate that region. It was a very significant statement made by one who has, for long, known how the world is moving and who, in his own way, has tried to do his best against tremendous odds for the peace of the world and the future of the human race. And so, I come to my theme: What is traditional culture and what is its place to-day in the scheme of things for the peace and progress of the world?

Culture has been defined in various ways. Some people even spelt it with a 'k' instead of a 'c' and therein lies the great danger that people may have a myopic view of the things to which they are accustomed—to believe that that is the highest form of culture and consider everything else as an anathema, even as the ancient Romans thought that all others were barbarians. But as one travels round the world with a vision to see the proper perspective in every land, as one observes the

simple, unsophisticated rural folk of many an undeveloped and underdeveloped country, one realizes that here are great virtues symbolic of a culture that may well be a source of inspiration to the so-called civilized nations of the world. We are carried away by slogans to-day. I remember the days when people used to be astonished at the way food was taken by peoples of different nations; or at the way people adopted certain modes of dress; or at the customs that were prevalent either on religious occasions or other sacred occasions in some countries. Much of this was due to ignorance, more to prejudice, some of it was due to a feeling of superiority complex, not by any means deserved. And so it is we feel that a proper study and correct appreciation of the values of ancient traditional culture will go to make men re-think, to make them realize what are the essentials of true culture, wherein lies the difference between nation and nation if the superficial traits which have very little to do with true culture are discarded.

I do admit that there is a danger that we have constantly to guard against: and that is the tendency to consider one's own traditional culture as of the highest eminence and condemn or despise other forms of culture in other lands. This attitude will spring only from those with a narrow frame of mind. 'Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring' is a worthy maxim for those who want to understand or appreciate traditional cultures of various lands and such cultures may be studied through literature, through art, through modes of life—through the simplicity of living of the village folk—through music, through dance, drama and painting: in fact, through every form of manifestation of human activity that is depicted, portraying the inner springs life. The abuse or wrong use of certain ancient forms of culture should not give the impression that the culture by itself, as depicted, is to be deprecated. For in every country and in all climes, there are those who are for various reasons inclined to use the most innocent forms of cultural taste to unworthy ends. I remember in my younger days, how certain ancient forms of dance were tabooed; but to-day, when they have been freed from these pernicious influences and are depicted to us in their purity and innocence by the children of the nation, we realize the deep significance of these arts. And so it is with many other forms of traditional cultures.

Let it not be inferred that, by studying these traditional cultures and trying to appreciate what is embodied in them, we should forget the great changes that are taking place around us or ignore the sweeping events that are fleeting before our eyes with kaleidoscopic rapidity. It is only a fossilized personality that will stick to an appreciation of everything ancient and traditional and refuse to see anything good in the great many useful innovations of the modern age. And it is only the bigot, the person with a static mind, that will refuse to see the good in ancient forms, whether of literature or of any other intellectual activity and think that everything modern is superb, little realizing that each of these things has its day and is gone within a very short period. What do we expect to learn by the study of these traditional cultures?

A study of traditional cultures implies a study of the mode of life, of the many ties that brought society together and kept it homogeneous, of the factors that went towards promoting peace and concord, of the unfortunate schisms which broke society and made it a prey to foreign invasions: these and many other lessons have to be learnt from a study of traditional cultures. To-day, the more important thing is how best to maintain what is excellent in these traditional cultures in a world which is toppling over with phenomenal rapidity to copy the latest trends from every nation; and, unfortunately, in that process of copying, it is not the healthy aspects of national life in other countries that are so much to the forefront as some of the undesirable trends. Many of us no doubt will be forced to admit that this is an industrial era and therefore straight-way to suggest that the panacea for all evils lies in the industrialization of our countries. I say deliberately "our countries," because the countries of the South East Asiatic Region have a special historic significance. We all know what they were a decade or two ago. We all know how they are pulsating with life once they have gained independence. We realize that the gap that has to be filled is so great, the lee-way to be made is so enormous, as compared with some of the so-called more civilized countries, that there is a great urge, a great demand—and naturally when that demand is not satisfied, a great dissatisfaction arises in the minds of these peoples. It does not matter whether it is India, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan or the countries round about

the Philippines or the countries on the mainland of Asia. Practically, every one of them has emerged from the chrysalis stage of subjection to the butterfly stage of full independence: and the hazards, the dangers and the great temptations of the butterfly when it first emerges into the world are well-known. So is it with these nations. Industrialization, urbanization, the inevitable concomitant of slums, of congested unhealthy habitations, of lack of the God-given gifts of fresh air and space, inevitably lead to disastrous consequences even among those who might have inherited some of these ancient traditional cultures. The impact—rather the sudden impact—of industrialization on countries such as these has been the theme of many a social worker. It is not a question of mere economics; it is not a question of mere improvement in the standards of living. The fundamental question is: how can those who are still habituated to certain traditional cultures be saved in the light of these fast changing processes with enormous possibilities of good and evil to be controlled? And so Mr. Chairman, I hope you will find, as I do, that the study of traditional cultures in these countries is not a mere academic study, but is of the highest significance in realizing exactly what should be the nature, the extent and the *modus operandi* of adapting these ancient peoples to a method of living, consistent with the great advances in science and technology, but even more consistent with those ancient ideals which have preserved them for many many centuries and, in some cases, almost since the dawn of civilization. It is my hope that these studies and seminars will give us some valuable material for thought, that even Governments will have some time to consider the manner in which such changes should be brought about. It is futile to think that, once more, the ancient methods of self-government can be imposed under modern conditions; changes must inevitably be foreseen, but it requires a great deal of wisdom and a great amount of knowledge to see how best those changes should be introduced.

I hope this forum, which is to spend the next few days in considering some of these traditional cultures of South East Asia, will give us some valuable information and help us to a better appreciation of the changing modes of life in future. On behalf of the Madras Institute of Traditional Cultures and on my behalf, may I thank you, sir, for so kindly sparing the

time to inaugurate this meeting of experts on traditional cultures of South East Asia and may I request you to deliver the inaugural address.

Then Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri read out the message sent by Dr. Luther Evans, Director General of Unesco as follows:

"Unesco attaches the greatest interest to seminar on Traditional Cultures in South East Asian countries and to its study of problems particularly significant for many countries in that area of the world. Please accept my personal best wishes for the success of this meeting."

He also read extract from a letter from:

Mr. L. J. Rollet-Andriane (Director of Cultural Relations, South East Asia Treaty Organization, Cultural Relations Office, Bangkok):

"I would be grateful if you would kindly convey my sincere thanks to the President and the Executive Committee of the Madras Institute of Traditional Cultures for the invitation kindly extended to me in my capacity as Director of Cultural Relations of SEATO to be present at a meeting of Experts on Traditional Cultures of S. E. Asia on Monday 3rd November 1958. I am greatly honoured to have received this invitation, which emphasises the common interests of your institute and the Cultural Relations Office of SEATO in the problems of traditional cultures in this part of the world."

and added that greetings and messages of good wishes had been received from their Excellencies the Ambassadors in India for America, Cambodia, Indonesia, Philippines, from the High Commissioners in India for Ceylon, United Kingdom, from the Vice-Chancellors of the Agra University, Banaras Hindu University, Bombay University, University of Malaya, University of Mysore, Patna University, Punjab University, University of Sind, Vikram University, Ujjain, Women's University, Bombay, Universitas Nasional, Djakarta; from the Siam Society, Bangkok; National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi; Council of Industrial and Scientific Research, New Delhi, Deccan College, Poona; the Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore; Vishveshwaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur; International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi; The Bhulabhai Memorial

Institute, Bombay; Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandal, Udaipur; from the Ministries of the Government of India for Works, Housing and Supply; Commerce; from the Home Ministry, Government of Madras; from the British Council, Madras, the British Information Services, Madras, and others.

Then Professor Humayun Kabir delivered the Inaugural speech.

The following is the text of the speech:

Dr. Mudaliar, Delegates of the Seminar, and other friends, I am very happy to be with you here this evening for this inaugural function of a seminar on the study of traditional cultures in South East Asia. And to you, Mr. Chairman, I am very grateful for your kind words of welcome. But you have yourself said that for the last 8 or 10 years you have always looked at me with friendly eyes, and therefore I cannot expect anything but a friendly welcome from you, and your friendly words of greetings were in conformity with that friendship and kindness, which I have always found from you; and as I listened to your speech, the first thought that struck me was, what exactly is traditional culture? You referred, in passing, to this problem, and yet I think it is a problem which remains unanswered, and, I am afraid, will remain unanswered even after the seminar has met and deliberated perhaps for a week or more, for if there is anyone topic in the world in which there will perhaps never be finality, it will be a definition of culture. Everyone will define culture from his own point of view, with his own background, with his own orientation, with his own objectives and ideals, and partly also influenced by what he *wants* culture to be. When we are dealing with human beings, the distinction between facts and feelings becomes very often difficult to define. Even in the objective world, we are told today, objects are partially influenced by human apperception of those objects. Well, if that is true of solid material objects, it is far truer of things which concern human beings, where feelings very often become facts, and by wishing something *to be* intensely enough, strongly enough, human beings bring that state of affairs into actual existence.

You referred, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that a number of countries in South East Asia, why only South East Asia, a number of countries all over the world, have regained their

independence within the last 20 or 25 years. We are seeing the end of one era, where there was domination of one country by another through direct political methods, and today even if there is domination, it is by other popular methods, not so direct, not so naked. But this very transformation could never have been brought about, unless people had longed for it, and when the feelings of people for freedom, for independence, for political liberty, gained sufficient intensity and pitch, that feeling itself transformed reality as we know it, and we find these countries coming into existence, new nations being born. Therefore, I feel, Mr. Chairman, that traditional culture will perhaps remain an object of controversy, even after all our discussions, and the more so because traditional culture may sometimes mean something which is set and rigid, and yet if we for a moment consider these various types of human societies, in which we think we find traditional culture, we shall find that what we regard as traditional culture is itself a conglomeration of various kinds of things. It is itself in a continual state of change, has always been in a continuous state of change.

I will give an example from our own country. We very often think of our own country as having a more or less traditional culture and that certain more or less rigid forms of social behaviour, certain types of intellectual attitudes, certain moral ideals, became fixed fairly early in our history. But however far we may go in our history we never find that there was at any stage a rigid pattern. At every stage we find there were different forces, different factors, different influences, different traditions, contending with one another. We very often think of Indian culture and civilization as composite; but when we talk of Indian culture and civilization as composite, generally we refer to the civilization and culture which has developed during the last thousand years or more. When we talk of Indian culture and civilization as composite, we say there is a contribution of ancient India. There is the contribution of medieval India, and in modern India there are the great contributions which the western world has brought. And if we try to understand the traditional ancient Indian culture, we shall find that that culture itself was composite, in more senses than one. Till very recently we thought of our history as beginning as somewhere

about 3000 years ago or may be 3500 years ago, with the advent of Aryans; and we thought that the Aryans when they came to this country evolved a kind of civilization which was more or less homogeneous, which was more or less harmonious, which was more or less unilineal. But about 30 to 40 years ago suddenly the pages of our history were pushed back. The discovery of Mohenjodaro and Harappa round about 1925, suddenly pushed back our history some 3500 or 4000 years. And we now talk of Indian history in terms of the last six thousand years, and we find that in these cities of what is called Indus Valley Civilization—these cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, a very highly developed urban culture had developed, and that urban culture had also developed certain modes of worship, certain modes of behaviour, certain types of craft, certain types of art, which persist to this very day. And we know further now, especially as the work of the last perhaps 5 or 6 years only, that this so called Indus Valley Civilization was not confined to the Indus valley. Last year, we found that this civilization had spread as far as the Narmada, and this year we have gone further South; stations of this civilization have been found as far as the Tapti or in other words right in the heart of what we may call the Deccan. And in the east also, we now know as a result of work done in the course of the last 2 or 3 years, that this Indus Valley Civilization was not confined to the Punjab, was not confined even to the western region of U.P. We have already found relics in Allahabad, and as our searches go on, and as our research expands, you may find relics of the civilization perhaps in the far, far South itself. We do not know. We also know that there was a rich civilization of the Dravidians, a very highly developed civilization—again of an urban type, or mainly urban type. We find traces of the fact that the Aryans in many cases, had to take recourse to the assistance of these Dravidian architects in planning their city. Many of you will remember, how when Yudhishthira wanted to build his new capital at Indraprastha, he had to get the help of Mayadānava. The name itself indicates that he was not an Aryan architect, and this alien architect built the city of a type which was very highly developed, and in fact so complicated that many of the Aryan kings were themselves baffled when they came to the city, and they did

not know how properly to behave. You will remember that the word "civilization" is itself derived from the word for city, and we have, as opposed to that, the people of the village, the urban and the rustic, and many of the kings in the Mahābhārata behaved like rustics when they came to the city of Hastinapura. We also have evidences that in the first century A.D. Christianity had already come into the country. We have evidence that as early as at least the 7th century or the 8th century before Christ, there were close contacts with Iranians. Therefore even in the ancient times this civilization of India was already a rich and composite affair, drawing upon many resources, upon many strands, upon many traditions, and developing continuously. We find these changes going on throughout this early period, we find these changes going on throughout the middle ages, and we find changes going on even today. And therefore in a sense when people talk of traditional culture, I think we have to recognize that that traditional culture itself is a fluid concept. Any culture which is vital, any culture which is alive, is able to absorb influences from outside. I think, if any one is to attempt any definition of life, I am sure no definition of life will be fully satisfactory just as no definition of culture will be fully satisfactory; but if we are to attempt a definition of life, perhaps life may be said to be the capacity to absorb something which is alien and make it part of our being. The food which is alien, we make it part of our being. I wish to tell the Experts that have come here that when we talk of traditional culture, we must not for a moment forget that in traditional culture itself, continually processes of change are going on. I am no physiologist, and speaking before you, Mr. Chairman, I speak with great diffidence. But I have been told that in the human body itself, the molecules are continually changing; our body is continually changing and probably within 10 or 12 years not a single particle of the old body remains. Whether it is 10 or 12 or 16 years you may be able to tell this audience. But the fact is that the body is continually changing; dead cells are being thrown out, and new cells are being created, and it is one of the symptoms of life that dead cells are being rejected and new cells are being formed. Similarly, it is one of the symptoms of a traditional culture, of a live culture, that traditions

are being continually enriched, enforced, reinforced, invigorated by the absorption of elements which come from outside. But then the problem arises how far this process of absorption can go, how do we react to the stimuli, and that, I take it, is possibly, one of the most serious problems which is facing all the countries in South East Asia, and if I may say so, Mr. Chairman, perhaps all the countries of the world. Some of you will remember that when European civilization in all its glamour and glory, its military power and political splendour, dawned upon this country in the first decade of the 19th century, many Indians were swept away, and there were groups of people who called themselves enlightened, called themselves young Hindus, young Indians, like the young Turks of Turkey, but these young Hindus, young Indians, thought that the sign of progress was to take roast beef in their hands and march up and down the streets of Calcutta or Madras or Delhi or whatever the city may be, and eat it publicly, shocking public opinion. Beef is a thing about which the Indian mind has a rather sentimental approach, and to many orthodox Hindus it is anathema to think of partaking of meat, and here were high-class Brahmins who felt that the only way of flaunting their vitality, the only way of flaunting the fact that they were progressive, that they were modern, that they were absorbing the values of western civilization, seemed to them to be to put on the dress of the Europeans, to eat roast beef on the high streets, drink and get drunk, and break all the social moulds which had been established in this country through the efforts of centuries, if not a millennium. Now, that, I think, is the problem for us today.

You said, Mr. Chairman, in your speech, that industrialization had become the order of the day, and that there are people who think that industrialization will answer all our problems. I do not think anyone who considers these matters deeply, will for a moment suggest that industrialization will answer all our problems; but at the same time I think no one, again, who considers these matters seriously would for a moment contemplate the state of affairs where industrialization is consciously resisted. You may try to resist it; it will not be resisted. The world forces are there, and therefore whether we like it or not a certain amount of industrialization

is bound to come to the country, and therefore the problem for those who think about these matters is to find out how that industrialization is to be brought about. I looked at some of the very interesting papers which have been submitted by some of the participants of the seminar, and I saw one very interesting point in one of the papers—whose paper I forget for the moment—which said that in the West when industrialization came, it came partly spontaneously, because the industrialization in the West grew out of the natural environment, and it grew by stages, and the early years of industrialization of the West were periods of slow change. Do not forget that many of the inventions, technical innovations which have made such a change in the world took 200 years before they were actually adopted for industrial production. An idea and its implementation, very often, had an interval of probably a hundred or two hundred years. In the East all that situation has changed. Here industrialization is not something which is growing quite naturally and normally out of the social environment; it is growing partly out of the challenge of the West, because western industrialization is already here and whether we like it or not, we have to meet the challenge of that industrialization, and the East is trying to meet the challenge of that industrialization by industrializing herself. But also there is this difference, that while in Europe the processes have developed and changes have been brought about during 200, 300, or 400 years, we are seeking to bring about those changes in the course of probably 30 or 40 years, and sometimes we do not have even 30 or 40 years, and there is the other factor also, that the first European industrialization in its earlier phases was hardly distinguishable from the type of society which had been built on the agricultural civilization and culture of that day. But today a predominantly agricultural economy of the East faces not only a predominantly industrial economy of the West, but an industrial economy of the West which is using all the latest models, latest innovations, latest developments.

In Europe in the 17th century, 17th century industrialization faced 17th century agricultural conditions. In Asia today, 20th or, if I may be forgiven an exaggeration, 21st century industrialization is facing 14th or 15th

century agricultural conditions. This enormous time lag has to be made up, and further it is a more concerted conscious effort. In Europe it was again largely an unconscious effort. Many individuals worked in different ways, they pulled in different directions, there was progress sometimes, sometimes regression, and as a result of many people working independently there was a certain tempo of development, which was not so fast as you have today, when there is concerted effort at bringing about changes through consciously planned methods and directions. Ideas are clearer today. The processes are far more developed today, and therefore the clash as it is likely to occur in the East is a much greater clash than Europe had ever to face. Now therefore we have to take stock of this situation. Are we to be like these young Hindus, young Indians of the early decades of the 19th century, who felt that modernization meant copying of the externals of western Europe? Are we to take merely these externals of this industrial civilization? Are we to discard all those values, which as you very rightly pointed out, Mr. Chairman, belong to some of the societies which are called undeveloped? They may be underdeveloped from certain points of view. They may be underdeveloped in industrial production. They may be underdeveloped in technological process. They may be underdeveloped in the utilization of their economic resources. Sometimes, they may even be underdeveloped in political ideas, but they are not always underdeveloped in moral ideals. They are not always underdeveloped in social relationships and the kind of community life which many of these simpler societies have evolved in the course of centuries, the community life where each depends upon each; there is a kind of a mutual collaboration, a real participation of life, which to a large extent has disappeared today from many of the industrial communities of the West.

From these points of view, some of the so called underdeveloped societies are not underdeveloped, and you will remember, Mr. Chairman, that in some of the discussion we have had in the UNESCO we have been surprised to find time after time that these processes of exchange cannot be, have never been, one-sided. If we want experts, if we want technical know-how from some of our friends of the West, we have also certain values to offer, values of contentment,

values of social solidarity, values of simplicity of life, values of a voluntary limitation of one's needs. These are values which the West is beginning to recognize more and more today, and therefore in this way we have found in our discussions in UNESCO itself that all these cultural exchanges have been mutual. You will remember that in the programmes which were undertaken from time to time for better appreciation of the mutual cultures of the East and West, we found that each area had a lot to give to the other area. And we also found that these East and West geographical descriptions were very often completely misleading, and we have found in our discussions sometimes when a specific issue has been discussed, there have been Indians and Europeans ranged on one side against Europeans and Indians ranged on the other side. Divisions have never been geographical, but they have been ideological, temperamental, emotional, traditional, using traditional in the broadest sense of the term. Therefore in a study group like this the problem which I feel is of the utmost importance is to find out how we shall face a situation from which there is no escape; the world has become one and no ostrich policy of withdrawal will save any country of the world. There are sometimes people, who say that we shall not in any way allow some of our simple primitive peoples to come into contact with the modern world. I know there are certain anthropologists who would like to preserve some of the so-called ancient tribes as museum pieces. They are not museum pieces. They are not going to remain museum pieces. The current of the world will break down all barriers, and increasingly the whole world will impinge upon every part with a far greater force, with a far greater intensity than has ever been the case in the past.

I think we must never forget that there are two factors in the modern world which *never* existed before. In ancient times, if people travelled, they travelled slowly and because people travelled slowly, ideas also travelled slowly. Buddha preached here in the 6th century B.C. But it took almost a 100 years before his ideas spread throughout India. It took several hundred years before these ideas went even to a neighbouring country like Ceylon. If tradition is to be believed, it is in the time of Asoka some 300 years after the death of Buddha, that Buddhist ideas first made their impact

on the Ceylon soil. And it is about the same time again, that Buddhist ideas spread to the Far East and to the Far West. 300 years before the ideas of Buddha spread! Today, almost before the word is out of one's mouth, the idea has spread throughout the world. Modern diplomacy has become all the more dangerous therefore, because in the old days, even if a diplomat made a mistake, that mistake was known by only a handful of other diplomats, and before it could get known even by other citizens in the city, he had an opportunity of rectifying the mistake. And in any case people in other countries could never know about that mistake, could never know about that indiscretion. But today if any important leader anywhere in the world makes an indiscretion in some Press Conference somewhere, some careless slip of the tongue, some statement in some speech, within an hour, sometimes in less than an hour, and if you have this television or what are called linked Radio broadcasting programmes while you are speaking, people anywhere in the world can listen to you, they can hear you and therefore ideas travel today with a speed which is fantastic. So far as ideas are concerned, distance has ceased to have any meaning, distance has disappeared; because simultaneously you can be heard in all parts of the world. And it is not only the speed of ideas but also the speed of travel of man which has been intensified many many fold. I am reminded of an incident in history reported by Toynbee in one of his books, not his *Study of History*. A Roman general who had been elected to be the Emperor happened to be in England, when news came that he was the emperor elect. And being the emperor elect, he was given every facility to travel as fast as he could. And he travelled as fast as he could. Because there is always the danger of a slip between the cup and the lip, and that applies more to the Emperorship than to anything else, and using all the resources of the Roman Empire which at that time was regarded as the most powerful empire of the world, practically synonymous with the world, so far as Romans themselves were concerned, it took him 26 days to travel from London to Rome. And 1800 years after that, a British Conservative Prime Minister, in the middle of the last century, when he lost his prime-ministership, he thought he would take an European holiday to go on a long tour throughout

the continent for six months, for he did not think that there was any possibility whatever of his party coming into power so soon. And he travelled to Rome, and again by a curious accident his party came back to power and he was again prime-minister elect. And he also wanted to travel back as fast as he could. It again took him exactly 26 days. Between probably 58 A.D. and 1858 things had not changed. Today it does not take 58 minutes; there are planes which can fly from Rome to London in 58 minutes. Already there are planes which travel at the speed of 1100, 1200 miles. Some of you might have seen in the papers 3 or 4 days ago, the United States have revealed to the public the existence of a plane which travels at 4500 miles—one of the space ships of which a picture appeared in all the Indian papers about 2 or 3 days ago. Not only do ideas and men travel faster, but they do so on a much larger scale; whereas in the past only a few intrepid souls dared to go outside the confines of their known world—only a Hiuen Tsang, a Fahien, or a Megasthenes, and only a few people like Marco Polo, Alberuni; only a few people, rare spirits, as late as the 18th and 19th century, travelled abroad. Today people travel not in hundreds, not in thousands, not in tens of thousands, you may almost say in millions. And there are cases where practically one continent visits another continent. I do not have the figures. I believe the number of American tourists in Europe every summer will probably run into millions. In India itself it has not come to millions yet, but you are already reaching lakh, 100 thousand mark, and I have no doubt in the course of another 5 or 10 years, we shall also count in half millions, if not in millions.

These are two factors which make the understanding of cultures by one another, a far more important task, a task of far greater urgency than has ever been the case in the past. We have got to live in one common world and as you so rightly pointed out, Mr. Chairman, many of the difficulties in the past have been due to ignorance. People have the strangest ideas. You will all remember that famous description of Othello when he told the story of how he wooed Desdemona. He told of people whose heads grew below their shoulders, or people who had all kinds of strange limbs which do not belong to normal human beings. The ignorance

of peoples about one another is really something quite colossal.

In the year 1930 I was in the South of France—in Grenoble, a University town, a town of high culture. I was staying not in the town but in a village, and I was staying with a French family; and one day I was telling them that I had spent some time in Germany, and they asked me about the habits of German people in villages. And when I told them that their habits were not very different, they were astonished to hear that the German villager used knife and fork. In the 20th century, in the year 1930, from my own direct personal experience, a villager near Grenoble thought that the Germans did not use knives and forks. That is just an example, a small example. But the kind of misunderstanding, which we have and the kind of conclusions to which we rush! Every stranger is a potential, well, if not an enemy, at any rate one with something odd about him, something queer, and you know that so much of misunderstanding arises because of these differences in habits, in deportment, in habits of food and habits of conduct; in the modern world which technological progress has unified, where scientific progress has brought peoples near one another in a way that the whole world is one neighbourhood. Now if in a neighbourhood, neighbours quarrelled, the results would be disastrous. The world is a neighbourhood today, and if in this neighbourhood people quarrel, it is even more disastrous, because man has evolved machines and powers of destruction, instruments of offence and defence to which there has been no parallel in history. Neighbourhood without neighbourliness is a danger, and that is the situation which the world largely faces today, and I believe one of the problems which students of traditional culture in every part of the world have to face is this problem. When we have neighbourhood today, how shall we create neighbourly feelings among one another? We can do that if we understand one another better, if we have greater respect for one another, and that respect will come out of understanding and out of knowledge. Human beings are much the same all over the world. And if they have odd habits or what appear to us to be odd habits, very often we should think that there is very good reason for that habit in the particular context we do not understand.

There is a superstition in Europe—we do not walk under a ladder. There is a superstition in India, that if a fox or cat, or whatever it may be, crossed from the right to the left it is bad for you, and if it crosses from left to right it makes no difference. Stupid superstitions. I think we can find an explanation for that. When you are riding a horse or driving a carriage, generally most people are right handed. Generally when something comes probably from the right the possibility of being startled is greater, because he is taken unawares. Whereas if it appears from the left he generally is not startled so quickly. Therefore something which has become a superstition, a meaningless shibboleth today, had at one time perhaps a meaning. Walking under a ladder! well, a ladder might drop on you, some time some ladder did drop on somebody, and after that, they were always careful. If you say it is unlucky, of course it was unlucky in the past. If you spill salt, it is unlucky. Of course it was unlucky in the past, because salt was very scarce. Salt was one of the most valuable things, and salt was treasured. Therefore anybody who in any way spoiled salt, was doing damage to the community. He was doing harm. So many of these customs, many of these habits, if we only go into them, we shall find that they are not as unintelligent, not as irrational as they appear in the context of today; they have become irrational today because the context has changed. And today we are in a world where the context has changed, and is changing for everybody, and therefore every traditional civilization, every traditional culture, has to assess anew; it has to examine afresh: what are its own presuppositions, what are its own basic values, what are the basic values of the civilizations and cultures with which it comes into contact? If we approach this in a truly human spirit, my own feeling is, my conviction is, that with greater understanding will come greater respect. The greatest son of India, the Buddha—he always used to say that the basis of life should be understanding and compassion. Understanding and compassion—and he placed them in that order. For if we have understanding, compassion will follow, and I think there is nothing more important in the study of traditional cultures in the world today than the spirit of understanding and compassion; today everyone has the need for compassion, every one has the need for

understanding, everyone of us has also the duty to offer our understanding and our compassion for others who differ from us, and if this Seminar on Traditional cultures approaches these various difficult problems which are facing not only South East Asia but the whole world today; the whole world order is changing—one kind of civilization, one tempo, one process of growth is being supplanted by a rate of change which is almost fantastic—if this Seminar teaches us to have greater understanding and greater compassion for one another's cultures and also for the cultures of the countries which may not be represented in this Seminar, this Seminar will have made a great contribution to our national life, and to the national life and the peace and prosperity of the whole world.

Thereafter, the Director of the Institute, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, proposed a vote of thanks:

Mr. President, Ladies and gentlemen. I rise to perform the very pleasant duty of conveying our thanks to the distinguished guest of the evening. But before doing so I should be failing in my duty if, first, I did not say how much this little Institute of Traditional Cultures that is coming up in Madras owes to the kindly care and nourishing patronage of the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the University (Applause). This Institute is a new spark of life in the ocean of the Madras University; without a friendly atmosphere it is not likely to grow up; that it has come up to the level which it has attained, is due to him. Besides the nourishing care of the Vice-Chancellor, I must mention the hearty co-operation received from the academic staff of the University, particularly the members who are my colleagues on the Executive Committee of the Institute, namely Professors Bhaskaran, Balakrishna and K. K. Pillai. I am equally indebted to the administrative staff of the University who have readily helped the Institute at every turn. In the organization of this meeting and the reception of the guests, I have received a great amount of willing assistance, cheerfully rendered by the post-graduate students of the Politics Department, who have acted as volunteers, and my thanks are due to them also.

Professor Humayun Kabir has been known to us all as a great student of Philosophy and Culture, and though he is spending much of his time in Politics, he is keeping his

contact with cultural subjects quite alive as you saw when you listened to his address today. May I on behalf of the experts assembled here for this Seminar convey to him our assurance that his very thoughtful and stimulating speech will ever be in our minds and will duly guide the deliberations on which we shall enter with due humility, because we know the questions are difficult, and the problems posed are perhaps some of them not soluble at all. With that consciousness and with the wise guidance which we get from the observations which Mr. Kabir has placed before us today, I hope this Seminar will be able to do something in the task which it is attempting. We know Mr. Humayun Kabir is very busy, and it is very good of him to have undertaken a special trip to the South for inaugurating this Seminar. So it is with very great pleasure that I convey to him our deep heartfelt thanks and gratitude for the help he has rendered to this Institute at Madras.

My thanks are also due to the All India Radio, Madras, who readily undertook to cover this meeting, and to the authorities of the USIS., Madras, for, enabling a tape-record of today's meetings and of the proceedings of the Seminar on the succeeding days to be made, for use in the preparation of the final report.

After the National Anthem the meeting came to a close.

Tuesday, 4 November, 1958.

The day began with a visit to the Kalākshetra, Adyar, 9.00 a.m., where the delegates were taken round to the different sections where instruction was being given in Music, Bharatanātyam, Kathakali and allied arts. They spent about ninety minutes and evinced great interest in the several aspects of tradition represented in the institution.

The Seminar commenced its sessions at the University Buildings (Room No. 18) at 11.00 a.m. The following participants were present, besides some observers:

Unesco nominees . . . Mr. Ajit Mookerjee, Mr. Amarnath Sehgal, Mr. Austin Jayawardhana, Dr. P. E. E. Fernando, Mr. Mohammad

Dahlan Mansoer, Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, Dr. Sutjipto R. M. Wirjosuparto;	
Delegates ..	Dr. N. S. Junankar, Dr. J. D. N. Versluys;
Special Invitee ..	Mr. M. D. Raghavan;
Executive Committee ..	
Member Participants ..	Dr. R. Balakrishna, Mr. R. Bhaskaran, Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Director), Dr. K. K. Pillai;
Madras University Participants ..	Dr. U. R. Ehrenfels, Dr. V. Raghavan, Mr. P. Sambamurti.

Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah (Pakistan) was elected Chairman. Messrs. Ajit Mookerjee (Calcutta) and Jayawardhana (Ceylon) were chosen Rapporteurs.

The lines on which the business should be proceeded with were discussed. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri (Director of the Institute) said: With your leave I would first raise the question of how we shall proceed to work. It is for you to determine the lines on which we shall proceed. But I would tell you that besides the book on *Traditional Cultures in South East Asia* which has been placed in your hands, a mimeographed working paper has been circulated. It contains recommendations and extracts from a number of Seminars held in different Universities and from field reports from investigators appointed by Unesco to study specified topics as noted at the end of the book mentioned above; these may contain some additional points requiring attention. Then there are the papers written by delegates and others specially for this seminar, which are also being circulated. All this material is meant to be more or less aids to thought on the problems we shall be considering. It is for you to decide whether you wish to have each paper read and discussed here; if so this is perhaps done best in advance of the discussion of the topics raised in the working paper. I take it that our final aim must be to formulate certain concrete recommendations; some may be of a general character which may apply to all the countries of the region,

and others may be of more localized character referring to India, Ceylon, or Pakistan or Indonesia. Burma is not represented here in spite of best efforts to secure the presence of delegates from that country, and the note on the arts of that country has been rendered possible by the courtesy of the Burmese Consul in Madras, Mr. Aung Thet. The report on Burma got by Unesco also reached me rather too late for use, though I may say that it contained nothing new that was not set forth in the note already circulated. It is for you to decide whether, in the circumstances, we shall make any specific recommendations on Burma or not. It is also to be decided whether the papers should be read *in extenso* or briefly summarized before discussion on them starts.

Mr. Sehgal: Since the papers have been circulated to all the participants, we need not waste time reading them. There may be points for discussion and the members may like to question on some points, and so ten minutes may be allotted for each paper.

The Chairman ruled that the author of a paper may summarize it briefly and then discussion may start.

Then at the suggestion of Prof. Sastri, the Chairman Dr. Shahidullah read his paper:

TRADITIONAL CULTURES OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

by

D R. MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH

Professor, Rajshahi University, E. Pakistan

SOUTH-EAST ASIA being far removed from the West and having many backward elements in civilized societies may be regarded as a veritable storhouse for folklore. Diversity of races, religions and cultures has lent diversity to its folklore. I should like to classify Folklore under the following categories, by giving a wider connotation to it: (1) Folk tales, including myths, legends and popular stories, (2) Riddles, (3) Proverbs, (4) Folk music, folk songs, ballads and folk dance, (5) Superstitions, (6) Customs, (7) Arts and Crafts.

I shall try to illustrate these from East Pakistan, formerly East Bengal.

(1) Folk tales, including myths, legends and popular stories. The black spots in the moon are explained by the popular myth that the old mother of the moon is spinning under the shadow of a banian tree in the moon. The gossamer is his thread. The classical Hindu myth is that the moon was once attacked with phthisis on account of a misbehaviour of his. On the advice of Dhanvantari, the divine physician, he holds a deer (according to another version a hare) in his lap to be cured of the disease. The Buddhist myth is that once Śakra in human disguise begged the Bodhisattva in his transmigration as a hare to feed him with his meat. The noble hare roasted himself for feeding the guest. Śakra being highly pleased painted the figure of the hare in the moon as a memento for ages.

A legend is told to explain the resemblance of the cat with the tiger. The cat is called the maternal aunt of the tiger. She went to fetch fire for the tigress in the lying-in-room. But being allured with bones of fish she ever remained in the household, not caring to return with fire for her poor relation.

Numerous folk tales of kings and queens, princes and princesses, Rākshasas and Rākshasis, birds and beasts are told by old women for the entertainment of their grandchildren at night till they fall asleep.

(2) Riddles, A parrot came out of the forest with a golden crown on its head. What is that? Answer. The pine apple.

There is a tree with seven hundred branches but with only two leaves. Answer. The sun and the moon.

(3) Proverbs. Better to have a one-eyed uncle, than to have no uncle; cf. Half a loaf is better than no bread. It does not rain, as much as it thunders. Rice of begging, no matter whether it is cleaned or not cleaned. cf. A gift horse must not be looked in the mouth.

(4) Folk music, folk songs, ballads and folk dance. Folk songs are generally sung on the occasion of marriage, as lullaby, as *marsia* or elegy on the occasion of the Muharram festival, as *bhatiali* by boatmen, as charms by snake charmers and as *marfati* or mystic songs by faqirs and mendicants. The Hindu *bairāgis*, male and female, also sing devotional songs. Some songs are accompanied by indigenous musical instruments like *pipe*, *shanai*, *kaol*, *kartal*, *kettle drum*, *drum*, *khanjani*, *ektara*, *dotara* etc.

There are also sometimes folk dances like *raibenshe*, *kati*, *jhumur* along with songs and music. Mymensing ballads published by the Calcutta University give a good example of the ballads of E. Pakistan.

(5) Superstitions. A woman, Hindu or Muslim, will not mention the name of her husband, father-in-law or elder brother-in-law. Omens are taken in the cawing of the crow. Certain days are regarded as inauspicious for marriage, for going out for sojourn.

(6) Customs. Some customs relating to funeral ceremony, nuptials, childbirth etc. are according to the prescriptions of the religion and some are only time-honoured practices without religious sanction. A person will not eat salt with milk. The milk of a cow is not taken.

(7) There are many indigenous arts and crafts which are being replaced by modern machinery. The oilman, the blacksmith, the weaver, the carpenter, the potter, the shoemaker etc. use indigenous instruments for carrying on their traditional professions. The dolls, the paintings on pottery and the embroidery show exquisite skill in Arts.

In the provincial museums the specimens of native arts and crafts are to be preserved. There should be folk festivals for folk music, song and dance. No folklore society is established

in all the states and provinces of India and Pakistan and the other countries of South East Asia.

Mr. Fernando enquired what kind of work was to be done by folklore societies.

Dr. Shahidullah referred to para 1 of this paper, and then described South East Asia as a veritable storehouse of folklore and gave instances of different classes of it. He suggested the preservation of native arts and crafts in provincial museums; and also the establishment of folklore societies in all the States of India, Pakistan and other countries in South East Asia.

Mr. Sehgal: I think we must take the nature and content of the folk material into account before we think of preserving them. If they are really very orthodox and retrogressive, then they should not be actively preserved. Adequate steps should, however, be taken to preserve folk music, folk dance—especially in India, and for the establishment of folk arts societies in the rural areas. Research should be undertaken on folk arts and dances. We need the establishment of such societies among the rural population to which urban people who have been acting dramas should go to recuperate.

Dr. Junankar: The question of folklore is quite important in the context of traditional values or traditional culture. The various folk arts, folk literature, folk dance, folk music, are in a sense popular culture. The way they look at the variety of the problems of life and, if I may say so, their recreation or entertainment value, are all remarkable. Even their superstitions are not devoid of interest. I do not think the question is so much of the preservation that is usually mentioned in this context; much more important is it to understand these customs and superstitions from the context in which they originated. Then you will throw light on the complex structure of human reactions as they have developed in a particular environment or set up. Having understood, I do not think anybody can deliberately set out to preserve them all,—though it seems difficult to say so. What we ultimately preserve will very much depend upon the vitality and vigour of what you seek to preserve.

For example, there is a good deal of revival in folk dancing, and that is good. Preservation of culture does not depend on a small *élite*. Proper culture is to percolate to all people in the community if it is to be lasting. Whatever enables the average

citizen to participate in culture, forms its life. People in different sections of life, or in different communities, will express their feelings, their cultural and other pursuits in forms which they think appropriate. In the countries of South East Asia there is perhaps a considerable element of myth and superstition. If we try to understand these myths and superstitions, perhaps with a much more scientific attitude towards their environment, we may be in a better position to understand and, if necessary, to get rid of some of the myths which are perhaps difficult to appreciate or preserve in the conditions of the modern world.

The problem of communication at different levels of intelligence is an extremely important problem. Historically speaking folklore has been the proper vehicle of communication of certain ideas which may in themselves be abstract. If you try to collect the folk tales of the entire community in India and other parts of Asia, and study as far as possible these media of communication of ideas in a scientific manner, the revival of folklore will lead to lasting results suited to our conditions and times, and even go far to meet the deepest aspirations and desires of the community at large.

Dr. V. Raghavan: The manuscripts and other cultural materials kept at Dacca University in East Bengal have been almost lost to Indian scholars who get no access to them; facilities to use them must be arranged for. In the field of music, which is the same for India and Pakistan, some outstanding musicians of undivided India have recently been confined to Pakistan; steps should be taken to secure the free movement of artists.

As regards folk arts and crafts, we can draw inspiration from past models and impart the basic designs to craftsmen who have completely lost that type of old tradition. Therefore, whether you call it folklore society or any other society, the preservation has to be done. Some songs may be forgotten tomorrow, and therefore it is necessary that preservation should be undertaken for our future guidance and for present reference of art, dance, song, literature or whatever it may be.

Dr. K. K. Pillay: Surely all the old superstitions need not be continued. Among Hindus and others, quite a number of irrational superstitions have sprung up and they have influenced the conduct of people for ages. Those superstitions which

promote fatalism, resignation, or despair should be cast aside. But this does not fall under the sphere of those who wish to promote traditional culture.

Some customs which have been characterized as superstitions by Dr. Shahidullah have a significance and an inner meaning. For example, the custom of the woman not mentioning the name of her husband, father-in-law or elder brother-in-law is common in South India as well. It is based on a sense of respect for these relatives. There is no need to cast off such age-old practices. Particularly in these days of misdirected sense of egoism and individualism such customs are well worth preservation.

In respect of folk lore, too, I plead for some discrimination. All things which fall under folklore need not be actively encouraged. Of course, the antiquarian, historian and anthropologist are keenly interested in these. They should collect and codify them as useful sources of information for social studies. If I may add, it is necessary that these must be studied both by natives of the land and by well equipped foreign scholars, because their viewpoints would prove to be necessary correctives to sentimentalism on the one hand and lack of sympathy for ancient customs on the other.

Similarly, all indigenous arts and crafts need not in my opinion, be encouraged. Surely the oilman, blacksmith, weaver and others use indigenous instruments which are often less satisfactory than the modern substitutes. Here again many of them deserve to be preserved only as curios. When sentiment and utility are in conflict, the latter must triumph, if we are to keep pace with the advancing world.

But folk dances like *Raibenshe*, and *Kati* should be encouraged. Accompanied as they are by songs and music, they have an important place in the life of the rural folk. They tend to relieve the monotony of human life and what is more, they foster a love of the fine arts. Some of these arts may rise to commendable heights under the impact of modern developments in art.

Prof. Sambamurti: We should not preserve everything that is old. I am all in favour of selective preservation. In Mahārāshtra the popular āhang songs have almost died out. All that can be known now is to be preserved, and this can be done by a constant process of study and transmission.

About revival, I think there is a big movement in India for revival of folk dances. That is the present form of revival. Another aspect is the modern stage craft which takes strange forms at times. The revival of folk-dances is more or less commercialized. There are, however, many troupes of folk-dancers coming to Delhi on each Republic Day, which is a different thing altogether and very laudable.

There are many forms of revival already afoot in India. We have to think whether we will revive and record faithfully, or give colour to it as has been done in recent years in some Indian societies.

There are many things which may be preserved as specimens, but on general considerations do not deserve to be encouraged. Certain dances were associated with indulgence in drinks and things of that kind. Some of the dances may have lost their significance and may have lost their interest.

Dr. Versluys: Mr. Chairman, I am very much interested in folk lore and folk art and I am anxious to know which authority is going to decide what is important, and what not. Who should say which part of folk culture should be preserved, which part should be discarded? I believe that by its own vitality dance, drama or song will assert itself, and I believe you can leave that to the continuing tradition. The present day values are changing, also in folk culture, and we may leave it to the people concerned to discriminate in this matter. How far can we help the tradition to continue? This is the vital issue. I should like to give some examples from Western folklore. We still read for instance the folk stories gathered by Andersen and the brothers Grimen from Scandinavia and Northern Germany respectively in the beginning of the last century. We find that due to their work some of these stories have become popular. History continues the folklore wisdom. We also see that classical poets have preserved old Greek fables which finally came back to life through La Fontaine's collection. Many of such stories are even now popular, though not all. It is a process of natural selection. Similarly, with regard to music we may leave it to the contemporary artists to select what appeals to them, to try it in their own way and to make it, as it were, part of the continuing tradition and part of that which is going to be preserved. Therefore, I feel somewhat disturbed at the prospect of some State Commission to

decide what, on moral and political ground, is "good" and should be preserved.

Dr. Sutjipto: I would like to mention that we should consider what are the traditional culture elements in folklore which are worthy of preservation and what are the reactions to them. This work properly should be done in detail for each region by its representative scholars.

It seems our brother delegates have failed to discuss this question from different viewpoints. We have to allow for mutual influences in the past. People might have migrated from this country to other countries, because in ancient times there had been relationships between India and Ceylon and Indonesia. Recording these matters according to regions is preservation which will help comparative study and correct understanding of values.

Mr. Sehgal: Adequate steps should be taken by the seminar to propagate this activity—dance, music,—lest it may be lost in the impact. Propagation can be done by universities also; but how to propagate these traditional cultures among the vast majority of the population?

Mr. Sastri: What do you mean by propagation?

Mr. Sehgal: Everyone really propagates some of the folk arts, in terms of music, songs, and arts and crafts. We must have such literature easily accessible to the vast majority of the people. I am only thinking in terms of the layman. How can he understand these values? They have to be taught to him.

Then Mr. Ajit Mookerjee was called upon to summarize his paper:

INDIAN CRAFTS AND THEIR DESIGN PROBLEM

by

AJIT MOOKERJEE

FUNDAMENTALLY the Indian crafts are (1) Ritualistic, i.e., used in the service of rites and festivals and (2) Utilitarian. Social customs demand the objects; modes of manufacture and material qualities determine the form.

That the Indian craft tradition has survived innumerable vicissitudes through the ages is due to the fact that the social organization was based on the village community, in the corporate life of which craftsmen played their assigned roles. The potter, for instance, was given plots of land or fixed quantities of grain at harvest time by village people in exchange for which he supplied them their requirements, dolls and toys included. The system meant security, without which the craftsmen could not have developed their crafts in close touch with tradition. Under such conditions, the craftsman worked out age-old forms, and countless recapitulations resulted in a state of mind in which he could produce the most abstract ones without any conscious effort or distortion. Even when he made a significant change, he was perhaps unaware of it. He could introduce new patterns, give the old a new look, but the possibilities of a radical assertion of his individuality in the modern sense were very much limited because of the total impact of social and religious structures extending from the joint family to the panchayat.

Another important factor for the continuity of tradition was mythology and folk tales, always a source of stimulation to the rural artists. The universal prevalence of the traditional story-telling, dancing, singing festivities and ceremonies, along with processions and social gatherings create the condition necessary for a vigorous tradition of folk craft.

By far the most important of our traditional arts are the textiles. Innumerable weavers and printers, with the discipline imposed by hands and tools, are carrying on with original designs and fabric constructions in a trade known from the earliest times. Indian textiles had vast local markets, and to

meet the demands, villages as a whole concerned themselves solely with producing cloths.

Decoration in Indian textiles is never employed just for its own sake. It is always used with an eye to the specific purpose which the garment fulfils. Not decorative motifs alone, but colour too plays a vital part in Indian textiles designs. Every mood has its own colour association. Even the different religious sects have their own special colours. The textile designers use colours and contrive designs to suit every kind of light from the bright morning sun to mellow moonlight.

Each season has its own colour. Lime green, for example, is the colour for early summer and saffron for spring. Even today, during spring festivals, girls dye their *saris* in saffron. Different people living in different parts of the country, have their own colours. Gay colour is generally the rule in India.

Through Saurashtra and Gujarat, in the west, runs an enormous colour belt with its multiform printed and tie-dyed textiles. Colours here seem to be conditioned by the brown earth and shadeless sun. They form a vital part of the background emerging out of the environment and the character of the people. As we proceed further south, colours lose their brilliance, designs grow in importance, and by the time we reach the lush vegetation and the back waters of Malabar, fabrics lose their colour and become white.

In the east also is the rich weaving belt, from Assam through Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra and Madras area centred round Tanjore. Even up to the last century the weavers having the utmost deftness of hand produced in this region the most delicate cotton and silk fabrics of the world.

Vegetable and stone dyes have been widely used from ancient times. The chief vegetable dyes used were indigo, lac, turmeric and sunflower. At first the basic colours alone were used. One still finds these in the textiles produced by the *ādivāsis* (tribal people). A greater grasp over the use of colours came with the development of dyes from minerals and the discovery of mordants. This too was quite an early development in India as is evident from the popularity of the *Kalamkari* or *batik* work of Masulipatam, the earliest reference to which is made in the third century B.C.

Block printing is also an ancient art. The most attractive block printed textiles are made in Madras and Uttar

Pradesh. The tree of life and the Kalka are the favourite motifs of the printed textiles of Tanjore. In Masulipatam beeswax is often used as a resistant material along with brush painting for large spaces, together with blocks. In Bengal the most traditional block printed textile is the *namabali*.

Embroidery is another ancient technique of textile designing in India. Embroidery is really a people's art. Repetitive patterns with the tree of life, diapers, flowers, animals and birds, spirals, scrolls and geometrical designs are all used in a variety of ways. The chief characteristic of Indian embroidery is that no two designs are absolutely alike. There is always some variation on the same theme. The art of embroidery has nowhere been carried to such perfection as in Kashmir. The woollen embroideries on Kashmir shawls are held in great esteem everywhere. The typical Kashmir embroidery is the *Kashida*, whose attractive designs reflect all the beauty of Kashmir in its riot of colours.

Kashmir is also famous for its carpets which are made of a soft, silky wool. The nap or pile is also of the same material. The favourite colours are light tones of pink, yellow, red and blue. The carpets are characterized by a fine balance and harmony of design and rich, mellow hues. The main motif is the *Kalka*.

Designs in Indian textiles have their own history of development. Just as many different influences have combined to build up the integrated pattern of Indian culture, without in any way affecting its own special character, so also has emerged a storehouse of textile designs, which, despite all their variety are typically Indian. Even today they are serving as a source of inspiration for the creation of new designs to suit the needs of modern taste.

Pottery, another ancient art, is also being revived after a period of decay. Both amateur and professional craftsmen, with renewed interest have begun to create fluid shapes, with decorations of modern design and vivid colours. The black and blue potteries of Delhi and the red ones of Bombay, though revived, on a modest scale, should soon be able to find a place in our households in a way which was almost forgotten for several hundred years, and immense possibilities in this regard can be foreseen.

The intricate but generally graceful and delicate designs in the wood carvings of Gujarat, Mysore, Travancore and Rajputana, of Kashmir and Nepal, have a breath and vitality which are characteristically their own. Detailed references to wood-craft and the making of furniture are found in the *Brihat Samhitā* and works on *Silpa Śāstra* and bear out extensive use of wood in making furniture from early times. There are numerous presentations of furniture in sculpture and painting in which the predominating features are the straight lines—playing a large part in the shape of seats, simple carved ornaments, the elegantly turned legs of the seats and the bedsteads.

The industrial use of metals dates from antiquity. Enamels of superb quality are still produced in Jaipur, the motifs being decorative patterns, naturalistic plants and animals. The craftsman from very early times made the best use of the malleability of the metals with an eye to the purpose for which the vessels were intended, and excavation at different sites has unearthed beautifully shaped copper and bronze vessels. Even the plainer types please as much as do the highly ornamented chased wares.

Still another old art is the inlaying in ivory, a process applied also to sandalwood, horn and tortoise-shell even today. Travancore and Mysore are famous for the elegance and exquisite workmanship of their ivories. Fine ivories have also been produced in Murshidabad and Cuttack, two great craft centres. Small objects like caskets, combs and toys are produced there, all in keeping with their past tradition.

Division of labour is a common practice in all these craft products. For example, those engaged in the Chamba embroidery are helped by the painter, who draws on the cloth the necessary outlines. Those who weave do not design the brocade patterns. But while in modern industry there is always a distinction and separation of the artist from the work, the division of labour is not so in traditional crafts, where the designer is always familiar with the conditions of the craft, and the master craftsmen themselves are, in many cases, skilled as well as very able designers. The work of one man can hardly be made out from that of another—most of the designs being traditional and so constant as to be familiar to every workman.

But there has been a rapid transformation in the craft picture in India during the last twenty-five years. With the impact of industrial expansion and new forms of economy, disintegration of the old Indian system began and the village craftsman was dissociated from the rest of the community.

The affinity between the concept of the designer and that of the craftsman tended to be lost, destroying the latter's direct response to good form. Again, lack of knowledge of materials, forms and usage sometimes handicapped the tendency to revive old designs and patterns. We cannot contrive new impulses through designers emerging in bulk from art schools. The solution evidently will come through certain methods and organization which govern the traditional arts and crafts. Good efforts have been made in this direction, but serious mistakes have often led to failures.

Moreover, sudden changes in a traditional design are fraught with great risk, since each village develops a form of craft with a distinct pattern. One generation hands it down to the next, thus making the characteristic a heritage, and the evolution of technique becomes a family trade. Only the prevailing taste of the local people determines the inclination to develop a particular type of design. The individual consumer, through a familiar pattern, comes in contact with the object to be sold, a fact not to be over-looked while taking the utilitarian aspect into consideration. No wonder, new suggestions of pattern and form clash with the old, and there is the unpleasant intrusion of foreign elements into the traditional motifs. So, what is required is harmony between existing patterns and new trends, and in order to bring it about, a thorough study of the craftsmanship and the purpose of the finished products is essential.

"A successful design policy grows naturally within the firms, can be stimulated but not built from outside"—to quote a remark which was made at the Design Congress held in London in September 1951. True, it may be necessary to adapt age-old classical and folk designs in different regional patterns to the needs of contemporary homes; but the sense for change should be allowed to grow among our craftsmen, who should not be immediately separated from their hereditary skill nor deprived of a knowledge coming down to them

from their ancestors. To leave them in a sphere of design where their imagination cannot play is to ask them to do something which they are unable to understand. It must be borne in mind that it is their millions of rural customers, to whom non-traditional designs are unintelligible, also unappreciable, that they count upon: and it is no use dragging them to a strange field merely for the sake of 'modernism'. Not that our craftsmen are not capable of inventing necessary and suitable designs, but we must create a sympathetic situation, where there is encouragement as well as ample scope for self-expression.

In the artistic tradition of our people there is a surprising continuity from one epoch to another. The basic continuity is achieved not at the sacrifice of flexibility of forms and designs. On the other hand, the popular standard of taste has been maintained throughout because of the scope for such transformation and change. This continuity is however not like that of a stagnant pool. So long as the craftsman functioned and he set his personal seal on the things he produced, there was no risk of any violent change in their appeal, nor was there any sudden break with the past. Art was conditioned by the function of the craft object which in turn guided the life movement of the people in any given surrounding. In other words, decoration was part of function; it grew from within and was seldom imposed externally. Artistic skill was not acquired, but inborn; art and life went hand in hand for they were never thought of separately. As life was conditioned by religion, customs and codes, so too were arts and crafts. Conflict could not arise because an alternative social structure did not present itself—until the industrial age. The revolutionary change brought about by industrialization could not be an easy one. Old values crumbled and because no new values could be readily found there was the inevitable sense of frustration. When the craftsman of old disappeared the standards set by him also vanished with him. Yet the machine which took his place failed to guide popular sensibility or to produce any aesthetic standard. In the place of the quality products by the craftsman, the machine took charge and substituted quantity. Where the one excelled in individuality and personal touch, the other went by sheer number and anonymity. When production in large scale

became possible by the use of machine, the products were characterless.

The craftsman who inherited the "group-soul" or the sum-total of artistic consciousness preceding him, functioned at his best when both his material and spiritual satisfaction was assured by society. Coomaraswamy says, "It has only been when the craftsman has had the right to work faithfully, a right to the due reward of his labour, and at the same time a conscious or subconscious faith in the social and spiritual significance of his work, that his art possessed the elements of real greatness." In the cataclysm that industrialization brought about, both these elements, so conducive to greatness in art and craft in the preceding ages, were lost to the craftsman. As a factory hand, his material condition worsened and, more than that, he lost the dignity and status which went unsolicited to him in a village economy.

Industrialization also meant a division so complete yet up to the time quite unknown. The craftsman was both the designer and the manufacturer and therefore was free to set a standard for himself in his craft. Industrialization cut these two into a number of different compartments and, in any event, the craftsman played an insignificant role in a complicated process. Moreover, as the designer and the manufacturer combined in the traditional craftsman, he could command the shape, form, colour, etc. of the product.

The modern age may be incapable of recreating the past. The machine has entered so much in our life, and it promises to be more emphatic in the days of the future. There is, on the other hand, the chance of evolving a new and abiding culture by the judicious integration of machine and handicraft. In the context here, by judicious integration is meant instillation of a sense of design in the manufacturing process so that we recapture a little of that colour and form in the things of everyday use which were so characteristic in the days of the craftsman.

To interest the traditional craftsmen today in aesthetic and technical experimentation would be a good primary step in the circumstances. He should know that to reach the largest possible market his products must be of high standard and that industrial methods are a means of reproducing his work in quantity. A sensitive use of materials for machine-made

products is encouraged through this kind of integral designing and new design possibilities are also opened up.

Given the proper background, they should be able to blend their age-old qualities with a contemporary awareness. In the more important branches of the industrial art of India, they have met the demands both of function and form, and at the same time, been alive to the needs of the common people.

A mere copying of the past, however adept, will not help; for that past was conditioned by so many factors since vanished. Moreover, what will predominantly guide the design movement in the present and the future is science. The use of science in everyday life will grow at a faster rate than what we can imagine now. We have in any case to take into account that science has already opened a new vista of possibilities by the invention of a number of synthetic materials and the progress is continuing at a gathering speed. The machine, although in essence a new tool and therefore apparently innocent from the point of view of a craft's continuity—has meant and will mean in the future something not comprehended adequately so far. In India the machine is more than a technique of production. It connotes an entirely different way of life, so different, indeed, that a conflict seems inevitable between the traditional way and the new way. No doubt, in some fields and in certain sectors a compromise is possible and adaptation of the traditional to the modern is also indicated. But over a far wider field there is no scope for such adaptation. And in a number of instances, Indian crafts and Indian craftsmen find themselves overwhelmed by this problem. By and far, urbanization and instillation of urban mind in village folk has weakened the bond of religion to crafts. Today a brass vessel or a wooden figure or a clay model is wanted not for the reason that they bear the magic inherent in the form but as a decorative or a drawing room piece. We, the customers, being sure we don't see anything incongruous in our demand—we having accepted the new way of life without question, ask the craftsmen for a meaningless form. They never heard of this new use, nor can they comprehend it. But since the urbans insist, and since the craftsmen have somehow to live, they meet our requirement, but without the inspiration that social order and practice rendered unto them at one time.

The design problem was intimately connected with the discipline inherent in craftsmen, but in the new set-up, if the craftsmen lose discipline and come to have a feeling that anything would pass, mere design alone will cease to be a problem; whatever comes out of his hands will be uninspired. And we hope that as the industrialization of India goes on, the craftsman will be a legitimate and necessary member of the industrialized community. Individual skill is all the more necessary now when we are faced with shortage of capital goods. Industry and the craftsman should draw closer as each becomes conscious of mutual needs and qualities. There are ways in which the contemporary craftsman, with proper support from the industrial wing can participate creatively in the great task of our time—mastering the machine for human ends.

In his summary, Mr. Mookerjee stressed the fact that crafts still survive in their pure form in many rural localities, while the revivalist efforts of modern artists and governmental agencies are carrying on without proper designs for the benefit of both export and internal markets; he cited the practice of printing designs of aeroplanes and film stars on coats and shirts as instance of forces inimical to traditional patterns.

Dr. Raghavan: Old designs are disappearing, the jewellers and sārī makers are introducing newfangled designs. Antique jewellery is being collected and sent to Bombay and from there to the West for sale; this must be prevented. The very craftsmen have been corrupted in taste.

Mr. Mookerjee: Modern artists have ignored ancient designs. In trying to cater to the demands of other people our old basic designs have been sacrificed. Each country should have its own designs for the benefit of its own people, and the foreigners will definitely appreciate them. In Benares the designs are still preserved, as ceremony demands these old designs. There they grew out of a certain basic philosophy and environment, and therefore it was appreciated by foreign people, and they will like it more if we continue to think in our own traditional background, otherwise the designs will be destroyed as we are seeing today.

Dr. Balakrishna: To condemn the modernization of art by the adoption of designs which are not traditional is not fair. The handicraftsmen, painters, sculptors and other artists are

the custodians of the civilization of an age. They preserve in a crystallized form for posterity the attainments of civilization in each age. So unless they are given the freedom to reproduce through their art what they see around them, posterity will have no evidence of our intellectual attainments. If a fifty or a hundred years later people should look back on our age, they should be able to see our achievements in cultural and material spheres through our artistic reproductions. Therefore, there should be some fidelity to facts, in the creative work of our artists. If, for instance, an ivory carver should adopt one of the poses of our best exponent of Bharata Nāṭya, Mrs. Kamala Lakshman, in ivory, there should be nothing wrong in it. That is the best way of making the future know our attainments in this rare art which is being practised so well in South India. To take always the models of the images of Gods and extinct animals, is not a mark of progress in civilization. By taking modern themes and ideas for reproduction Indian art does not cease to be traditional. The art may continue to be as original and traditional as heretofore even when it adopts as its theme a living practice of artistic value. By the infusion of modern ideas and means of production, traditional arts benefit to a considerable extent instead of suffering thereby. The Nirmal Industry in Hyderabad, for instance, has not only adopted modern themes for reproduction but has also made use of modern gadgets for its implements and modern processes of colouration. As a result of it, the products of this industry make a special appeal to connoisseurs brought up in modern environments.

Apart from these arguments for revitalizing the decaying arts and ensuring that they form a true repository of our civilization, it is also necessary to look at the economic side of those who are engaged in these arts and crafts. It is essentially a private enterprise, and it has to sustain itself by catering to a group of consumers whose tastes have undergone changes with the evolution in civilization. Unless the handicraftsmen adapt their themes and designs to suit the tastes of the buyers, their product would be unsaleable and the traditional arts would soon decay. No States could subsidize and maintain them at their cost indefinitely. So, for their own sustenance and survival, traditional arts and

crafts have to undergo this essential change. To interfere with it in the name of preserving the traditional character of art, is to do a disservice to them.

The State in India since Independence has been doing all that it can to encourage arts and crafts. The awards of prizes and scholarships are meant to encourage the continuance of these valuable inheritances of the past. Even in the attempts to advance in the direction of Western industrial civilization through planning, the State is not blind to the necessity of preserving the indigenous arts and crafts. The encouragement offered to small scale and cottage industries is one of the methods by which the concern of the State is being manifested. There could even be art in industry and as such the advance in the direction of greater industrialization need not be inimical to traditional arts and crafts.

Prof. Sambamurti: The impact of foreign ideologies and foreign rule has destroyed the traditional art. Something must be done to preserve the intrinsic value of traditional art which existed in the primitive art. Another problem is how can we make the average women and children enjoy good art of the traditional cultures. It requires an elaborate educational effort in the face of the present day cinema. The cinema music is not up to the mark of the artistic values of traditional music. At present everything is being done commercially to the detriment of real art.

Dr. Junankar: This is very important. A number of things depend on what people decide on this issue. Revival of traditional culture with sufficient adaptation to modern requirements will, however, take place. I am not sure whether the ancient culture could be preserved in its pristine purity. Once you have technology and science, there is bound to be a modification, there is bound to be adaptation of the designs. A business view encourages the outlook which causes greater satisfaction amongst the people for whom it is all meant. You may perhaps have strong economic reasons for this.

Mr. Mookerjee: By proper patronage you can get the best designs from the craftsmen. When we cater to the needs of the common man, he appreciates these designs. Today we are trying to popularize machinemade goods, for instance the plastic toys.

Dr. K. K. Pillay: There are still beautiful crafts which we can preserve for our guidance and reference.

Mr. Mookerjee: Taste can be created. Taste is not only with people who want it but also with those who create it. Craftsmen never cater for any vulgar taste voluntarily.

Mr. Sehgal: I think the Government of India is anxious to preserve the traditional cultures, and a scheme has been included in the Five-Year Plan. Artists are being encouraged. Industrialization does not necessarily mean extermination of art.

Dr. K. K. Pillay: I feel that apart from the preservation of older traditions there should be a ban on the adoption of vulgar designs.

Afternoon Session 3.00 p.m.

The session began with Mr. Fernando summarizing his paper:

THE TRADITIONAL ARTS AND CRAFTS OF THE KANDYAN PROVINCES

by

P. E. E. FERNANDO

THE traditional arts and crafts of the Kandyan Provinces,¹ practised centuries ago over the whole area, are today confined to within a radius of about thirty miles from the town of Kandy. Owing to a variety of circumstances, the practice of these arts and crafts appears to have ceased altogether in the more remote areas and is now confined to a few families living in villages situated round about Kandy, where the temple of the Tooth, the devalas associated with it and the Perahara held there annually in August continue to give some sustenance to these arts and crafts. The rituals of the Temple of the Tooth and of the Perahara require the use of a variety of the products of traditional craftsmen, such as pots and pans, costumes and parasols, while Kandyan dancing, singing and music play a very important role in all ceremonies connected with the Temple of the Tooth, and the other devalas in Kandy. Troops of Kandyan Dancers, singers and musicians, perhaps, provide the most attractive items in the August Perahara. Moreover, the town of Kandy was the capital of the Kingdom of Kandy for nearly three hundred years till it was occupied by the British in 1815. Since then it has remained the most important town in the interior of Ceylon. On the other hand the coastal belt of the island of Ceylon has been from the sixteenth century onwards open to the influences of western civilization owing to the invasion of this region by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and finally the British. Further, though the Kandyan Provinces, like the rest of the country, have been subject to British rule till very recent times, European influence has not been assimilated in this area to the same extent as in the coastal belt.

Of the arts and crafts thus centred round Kandy, perhaps, the most well-known is the manufacture of brass and silver

¹ These are the Central Province, the Sabaragamuwa Province, the Uva Province, the North Central Province, the North Western Province and parts of the Eastern Province and the Western Province.

ware. Families of smiths who for generations have been living in the villages of Kirivavula and Gadaladeniya about ten miles to the south-west of Kandy are still carrying on their craft in spite of many a handicap. A few more families in the villages of Danture and Madavala, both not far from Kandy, are also engaged in this industry. Their work consists mainly of plates, trays, boxes and similar articles made of sheets of brass or silver overlaid with silver and copper foil. When there is a demand, they also make lamps, figures and finials for stūpas, cast in metal. In the villages of Nilavela and Godapola the smiths have confined themselves to the manufacture of articles in gold and silver including jewellery. The only craftsman making trinkets, spectacle lenses and small caskets in crystal is also found in the village of Kirivavula. Mats with traditional patterns are made with the fibre of the hemp leaf at Henavala in Pata-dumbara and at Mahewa near Matale. These mat weavers who are known as Kinnarayas have adapted their craft to suit the needs of the times by making in addition to mats various kinds of other articles such as cushion covers. Workers in lacquer are found at Hapuvita, a village to the south of Matale. They produce mostly simple articles such as walking sticks, small boxes, fan handles, pen holders and cigarette cases. Articles made of solid lacquer with carved designs are not manufactured in Ceylon. Though fine specimens of Kandyan wood carving are to be seen at places such as Ambakke and the Audience Hall at Kandy, this art can be considered almost lost. Some work of satisfactory quality, however, has been done in the new University Buildings at Peradeniya. A few families of carvers are to be found at Godapola and they use both wood and ivory in their work. Weaving comparatively is a popular craft in the Kandyan Provinces but weavers who employ traditional techniques and designs are almost nonexistent. Occasionally, however, one comes across a weaver who can turn out a length of cloth employing traditional looms or material prepared according to traditional methods. The only place where such weavers are to be found is a village called Madugoda about thirty miles from Kandy. Families of potters are to be found in almost every part of the Kandyan Provinces, but painted pottery, of which excellent specimens

are to be seen at the Kandy Museum, is produced only to meet the needs of temples and devālas.

The skilled art of Kandyan dancing, including singing and music, is practised by a comparatively large number of families scattered throughout the Kandyan Provinces, but there are only a few villages where really expert dancers are to be found. Several schools of dancing have been set up in recent times with the assistance of the Arts Council of Ceylon. The art of Kandyan painting, which seems to have flourished with great vigour in the eighteenth century, has almost ceased to be practised, though there are a few artists who are valiantly attempting to keep the art alive. In fact there is not a single major work executed in recent times in the Kandyan style. Incumbents and supporters of Buddhist vihāras where these paintings were usually executed no longer consider this style of painting fashionable and allow their temples to be covered with paintings of all kinds which have very little artistic merit but which are characterized by gaudiness and vulgarity. At Nilagama, a remote village near Galevala, live the descendants of one of the artists that executed the well-known paintings in the cave temples at Dambulla, but their work has today deteriorated to such an extent as to bear no comparison with the work of the masters of the eighteenth century whose work is still to be seen at places such as Degaldoruwa, Dambulla and Danagirigala.

Those who have made investigations into the present state of these arts and crafts are, I think, in general agreement that they have been for some time undergoing a process of deterioration both in respect of quality and quantity. Most of the traditional methods of production, patterns and designs have ceased to be employed any longer and have been replaced by newfangled methods, designs and patterns. The economic position of the artists and craftsmen has also been on the decline. Some communities of these craftsmen, for example the Kinnara people, of Pata-Dumbara, live in extreme poverty, eking out their livelihood by peddling their wares from house to house in the towns. Even where substantial orders from commercial houses are available, unless there is a co-operative society of their own, the middlemen get the greater share of the benefits. When occasional exhibitions are held and the craftsmen and their services are in

demand for purposes of display and demonstration, they often get nothing but their travelling allowances and perhaps a certificate that is not of much use to them.

The circumstances that have led to this state of affairs are not far to seek and may broadly be described as being economic and social. With the occupation of the Kandyan Provinces by the British in 1815, the patronage of the King and of the chieftains ceased to be extended to these craftsmen, and owing to the introduction of western concepts and tastes and western manufactured articles at cheaper rates to replace the local product, the local craftsmen found themselves in a situation which they were not competent to overcome without well-directed outside help. Brought up in a tradition that was somewhat rigid, not possessed of that flexibility of mind and attitude to adapt themselves to the changing circumstances, and not being resourceful enough to undertake new ventures, these craftsmen were forced to 'adapt' themselves in the only way open to them. They were forced to debase their designs, to use cheap imported materials and to abandon their well-tried techniques and processes. Thus, for example, we find the weavers no longer preparing their own yarn or dyes. The lacquer the craftsmen use is imported, and the designs, patterns and the colour schemes of their wares are all modified too for the purpose of approximating to the imported article and of getting a small profit.

That the traditional arts and crafts of the Kandyan Provinces were in the process of deterioration and that the craftsmen themselves were in a pitiable state were recognized as far back as the close of the last century. Ananda Coomaraswamy, one of the Asians inspired by the movement led by William Morris in England, and a few enlightened civil servants, campaigned for a sustained effort to save these craftsmen and their crafts. Almost single-handed Coomaraswamy travelled extensively in the Kandyan Provinces and recorded as many of the arts and crafts as he could find in this part of the island and these efforts of his ultimately resulted in the publication of that well-known work *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*. At the same time, first the *Taprobanian* and then the *Ceylon National Review*—two journals devoted to the study of the island's cultural heritage and to a campaign for a plan of enlightened social reform respectively, were founded.

In the town of Kandy itself the Kandyan Art Association was founded in 1893 with the following objects:

1. to preserve the purity and originality of Kandyan Art work;
2. to form a medium between the intending purchaser and the producer of such work.

It is however questionable whether these praiseworthy aims of the Association have been realized. Possibly it has acted as an agent between a small section of the craftsmen of the area and purchaser, but owing to various circumstances the association has not been able to insist on a minimum standard in respect of the art products it handles. In fact, as an agency that caters mainly to the needs of tourists, the Association has almost forgotten the first object with which it was founded. A few craftsmen are also employed by the Association and work in its premises, but it is doubtful whether they serve any useful purpose beyond rousing the ephemeral curiosity of visiting tourists.

Since Ceylon ceased to be a colony in 1947, the Government through its various officers and agencies has taken some interest in the development of these arts and crafts and in the improvement of the economic position of the craftsmen. Government Departments such as the Department of Rural Development and Cottage Industries, the Department of Co-operative undertakings and the Department of Local Government have in varying degrees interested themselves in rehabilitating these craftsmen. The Co-operative Department has set up co-operative societies for the benefit of craftsmen throughout the island as follows:

Pottery	..	68 societies
Mat weavers	..	15 , ,
Smiths, gold, brass and lacquer	..	14 , ,

It is, however, not possible to say how many of them have been set up for the exclusive benefit of Kandyan craftsmen. The Department of Local Government has set up 245 community centres in the Central Province, the most important of the Kandyan Provinces, and another 54 centres in the province of Uva, while the Department of Rural Development has established 1806 Rural Development Societies in the Central and the Uva Provinces. These societies, it must

be noted, have not been set up with the specific purpose of improving the social and economic position of traditional craftsmen, though they were bound to be benefited even in a small measure. The aims of the Community Centres movement are mainly cultural, and these centres are mostly engaged in providing to villagers playgrounds, sports material, and reading rooms. They also encourage the performance of local dances, music, and plays. The Rural Development Societies are concerned mainly with the co-ordination of the work of various government departments in relation to rural areas so that 'the best benefits of the state services can flow to the people expeditiously without waste.' The Department of Rural Development also has set up a Board for the Rehabilitation of Backward Communities and this Board has commenced work already in the two communities called the Kinnaraya and the Rodiya. The Kinnarayyas, it may be remembered, are well known for the popular Dumbara mats they produce, while the Rodiyas, who do not claim to be craftsmen of any sort, are engaged in making household articles of wood, leather and choir. The Marketing Department's only connection with Kandyan craftsmen is confined to buying a certain portion of their products to be sold in the 'Ceylon Products Shops' that this department has set up in the major towns of Ceylon.

The Arts Council of Ceylon, set up by the Government in 1954 on the lines of the Arts Council of Great Britain, has also taken a considerable amount of interest in the Kandyan craftsmen and their products. The Handicrafts Panel of this organization, according to its report for 1955, proposed to institute an inquiry into the condition of traditional arts and crafts on the following lines:

1. areas where crafts flourished
2. where talent existed
3. reasons for their failure
4. sources of raw material
5. quantity and quality of the finished article
6. the possibility of adapting the traditional article to the modern market and the search for such markets.

So far the results of this investigation, if it was made at all, have not been made available to the public. This organization has also assisted in the setting up of six schools of Kandyan

dancing in different parts of the Kandyan Provinces, and has assisted craftsmen by buying their products for sale in Colombo. Individual craftsmen have also received from this Council financial aid in some instances. Among other private organizations that have taken some interest in traditional crafts mention must be made of the Lanka Mahila Samiti (Association of Women's Institutes of Ceylon) and the Institute of Sinhala Culture.

An important development that took place in the recent past is the creation of a Ministry of Cultural Affairs in association with the Ministry of Local Government, with the return of the Maha-jana-Eksat-Peramuna Party into power in April 1956. The Department of Cultural Affairs created under this ministry has so far confined its activities, as far as the Kandyan arts and crafts are concerned, to assisting craftsmen and maintaining the schools of dancing referred to above through the agency of the Arts Council. Under its auspices several exhibitions of Kandyan arts and crafts have also been held in these provinces. There appears to be, however, considerable dissatisfaction in the mind of not only Kandyan craftsmen but also of artists and craftsmen in other parts of the country with the way matters are being handled by the Department of Cultural Affairs and the Arts Council. They have been subject to persistent criticism, and even now an agitation is going on in the Sinhalese Press that the Arts Council should be dissolved. Critics of the Arts Council allege that an undue emphasis is given by this body to Western Art in comparison to the meagre interest shown in the national arts and crafts. The Department of Cultural Affairs is criticized for lack of organizational ability and for not giving their due place to artists and craftsmen in the activities of the Department.

It is readily admitted that these Government Departments and private organizations have in varying degrees been of service to craftsmen, but it must be stated with all possible emphasis that there is a very definite lack of co-ordination and direction in all their efforts. "It is an observable feature in regard to all categories of cottage crafts", says the Report of the Kandyan Peasantry Commission, "that there is no organization of any sort that works effectively to solve the major problems that face these craftsmen." The position

does not seem to have improved even though this report was submitted to the Government seven years ago.

It may also be pointed out that whatever the efforts that have been made so far, they have been mainly directed at the economic and social uplift of the craftsmen. Very little has been done to improve the quality of their products and almost nothing to educate the public in the appreciation of these arts and crafts and to restore to them a sense of values in regard to these traditional arts and crafts. Therefore, in any programme of work directed at improving the social and economic position of these craftsmen, as well as the traditional quality of their wares, due attention must be paid to the public who will, in a sense, be ultimately the main factor on which the success of such a programme will depend.

Now that we have some idea of the problem and of the steps so far taken by various agencies to solve it, perhaps it will not be out of place here to examine the problem and its solution a little further. I should like to discuss them under the following heads: 1. the craftsmen, 2. training and study, 3. the public, and 4. organization.

The Craftsmen

The Kandyan Peasantry Commission, which inquired into the position of the artists and craftsmen of the Kandyan Provinces, has indicated the main hardships of these people as follows:

1. inability to find markets for their wares
2. inability to obtain credit for purchase of raw materials for their work
3. inability to secure raw materials at reasonable price and
4. absence of facilities for learning and applying modern and improved tools in their craft.

There is no doubt that any provision made to meet these difficulties of the craftsmen will go a long way to improve their economic position. But it is at the same time important that steps should be taken to restore to them their due place in the community as skilled craftsmen and to create in their minds a sense of pride in their work. As it is, most of them are poor and belong to the so-called low-castes. Those who

are interested in them must work without any attitude of patronizing. Frequent complaints have been made in connection with exhibitions held recently of traditional arts and crafts that craftsmen and dancers invited to participate in them were not treated in a manner befitting artists or skilled craftsmen. Last year an exhibition of traditional arts and crafts organized under the auspices of the Department of Cultural Affairs had to be abandoned as some craftsmen refused to participate in it as they felt that they had not been given their due place in the organizing body. Offence was also taken by a section of craftsmen that some competitors were required to produce a certificate of good character from the village headman. Another complaint that is often heard is that dancers and acrobats taking part in the Annual perahara at Kandy are not well looked after even though they have to be away from their homes for a week or longer. I am mentioning these details because such action on the part of responsible people, even though it may have been inadvertent, creates suspicion and dissatisfaction in the minds of craftsmen. Whatever assistance they may seek from the government and private organizations, it is definitely not a paternal and patronizing interest in their welfare that they seek.

Training and Study

The training of craftsmen should also occupy the attention of those who attempt to revive these arts and crafts. According to custom that prevailed in the country a craftsman's son usually followed in the footsteps of his father and in time took his place as a skilled craftsman. But today conditions are different. Sons and daughters of craftsmen are keen to take to other more profitable trades and occupations and show a great desire to go to the towns, abandoning the sordid surroundings of their impoverished villages.

The training of craftsmen and the study of arts and crafts can best be provided for by setting up a school of arts and crafts at Kandy devoted exclusively to the teaching of traditional arts and crafts. At present there are five schools of Kandyan dancing set up at different places. The Kandy Art Association has its own sales rooms and workshop. This

frittering away of funds and effort without any co-ordination and planning can be avoided if such a school is set up in Kandy. The buildings and other resources of the Kandy Art Association can be utilized as a nucleus for this purpose and the nearby Museum which houses a valuable collection of specimens of traditional arts and crafts will be an asset for study and research. The scope of such a school may be extended by incorporating in it a department for buying and selling all articles that are of a minimum standard of quality, and an assay office where articles made of gold and silver can be tested and hallmarked.

The Public

At the outset I should like to quote here some remarks made by Marco Pallis regarding Tibetan art which apply with equal relevance to the arts and crafts that are under discussion. "My fear that symptoms of decay may herald a descent into the abyss and not into a temporary furrow", says Pallis, "rests not so much on the artists' work as on the deterioration in the critical powers of the other partner in the artistic directorate of a people, the educated class, on whose continued patronage the livelihood of the artists depends; because it is the people of education who are the arbiters of taste, whom the lesser purchasers are sure to imitate. I have several times been shocked by the poor judgment of persons who, by their social standing, and by the artistic environment in which they have grown up, should have been able to discriminate."

"The cause of this oncoming blindness," continues Pallis, "is not far to seek. In most cases it can be directly connected with the importation of anti-traditional objects from abroad, glittering and vulgar products of mechanical or slave-man power, which, apart from their influence exerted directly through the eye, are calculated to affect taste even more severely through the glamour which they possess for the ignorant, because they come from the countries whose arms and commerce have subjugated the whole world."

The people of Ceylon too have to be educated to appreciate and take a pride in the traditional arts of the country. They

must be provided with some kind of guidance to recognize what is good and what is bad. The large volume of popular books published in European countries on subjects such as pewter, tapestries, wood carving should serve as a good illustration of the work that can be done in this direction. The museums and the University can render very valuable service to the public in this direction by organizing lectures and by publishing popular and cheap books on these subjects.

Organization

What appears to me to be an urgent need in the matter of organization is the appointment of a central authority to co-ordinate and direct effectively all the activities initiated by different bodies for the betterment of craftsmen and their products. This work can, perhaps, best be undertaken by the Department of Cultural Affairs, where an officer with suitable qualifications and sympathy may be assigned to effect the necessary co-ordination and direction. Perhaps it will be advisable to appoint a small advisory committee composed of persons who have the necessary knowledge and experience to advise the officer so appointed. Such a committee then can consider the various problems that are bound to arise in connection with their work, problems such as the desirability of mechanization, and the modification of techniques and designs to meet the requirements of the modern market. If such an organization as outlined above is set up, there is already a considerable volume of basic data for it to utilize immediately. The results of the investigations of the Kandyan Peasantry Commission, the data collected by market research carried out by the Marketing Department, and also perhaps the results of the investigations carried out by the Arts Council of Ceylon, should be available to it. A scheme for a survey of the traditional arts and crafts of the Kandyan Provinces was drawn up by some members of the University of Ceylon at the request of the Director of Cultural Affairs and it was submitted to him some time ago.

In this paper I have attempted to indicate briefly the present state of the arts and crafts of the Kandyan Provinces and to give some idea of the problems that those who contemplate

taking action to revive these arts and crafts may have to face. I have also taken the liberty of making some suggestions, which, if put into effect, may contribute even in a small way to the revival of these arts and crafts. Everybody appears to be agreed that some action must be taken to arrest the decay of these arts and crafts, but where opinion differs is in regard to the action that should be taken. Perhaps we may achieve some measure of unanimity in regard to this as a result of the present discussions.¹

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Mr. Sastri: Do you mean that the old arts and crafts should be preserved or should be improved?

Mr. Fernando: Preserved. They may have to develop in their own way e.g. prepare their own dyes; meet the demand for articles fancied at present though outside the cadre of old art.

Mr. Mookerjee: I find that some of the textiles are dying out. Craftsmen are also deteriorating. The government is supplying raw materials not always with efficiency. The yarn is supplied to wrong hands and this helps only one set of people who sell the textiles at higher prices for their own benefit

¹ In this paper I have incorporated some paragraphs from a paper read by me at the Ceylon University Conference on Traditional Cultures, 1956.

depriving the craftsman of his due. Discerning patronage and adequate supply in right time and quantity of raw materials and other aids must be thoughtfully organized.

Dr. Versluyss: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask whether the personnel which made enquiry about the situation of the craftsmen has submitted details of production etc.

Mr. Fernando: They have really taken up the problem; they have not yet published the report.

Dr. Versluyss: I am interested in this problem, for it is not only a matter of a traditional craft as such. I think it is also important to know for all the countries in this region what it means economically to the population in these areas. The economic aspect is important and should be taken into account, or would you like to concentrate on the cultural aspect only? On the one hand we have cultural implications and on the other hand the economic issues also come into the picture. The economic issue has been mentioned several times already, but I would like to know whether it would be deemed desirable to take this aspect also into account in our discussion, or if we should confine it to aesthetic aspects only.

Chairman (Dr. Shahidullah): I do not know the economic aspect. That requires some knowledge. As regards the cultural aspect we are competent. We confine our discussions only to the cultural aspect. I leave this matter to our brother delegates. I do not believe in the economic aspect. It is for the members to indicate their desire.

Dr. Raghavan: I think we should concentrate only on the cultural aspect. But we cannot totally ignore the economic side. We are however, really concerned with the impact of modern conditions on traditional culture. That is more or less our main theme. We have to take into account the prevalent conditions and our practical suggestions should be such as would be more or less generally acceptable and be possible of implementation under present day conditions. I think we have to bear this in mind clearly.

Dr. K. K. Pillay: I agree with Mr. Fernando that certain old arts are dying for want of encouragement and on account of the consequent poverty of those engaged in those arts and crafts. This is true of several arts and crafts of South India, no less than of Kandy. For instance weaving mats of high quality was well developed in the extreme south of India.

Wood-carving of excellent variety has always been a proud asset of the westcoast. But they are all languishing.

How to resuscitate them? Of course, start exhibitions, institute prizes of merit, set up marketing agencies, provide suitable advertisements and all the rest of it. But by far the most essential thing is to assure a living wage for those engaged in the respective occupations. Besides suggesting cooperative societies, particularly the multiple-purpose cooperative societies, I plead for the encouragement of the adoption of subsidiary occupations when we are in the days of Sarvodaya, fixation of ceilings of land holdings and so on. I feel it is not a far cry to think of the artisan also getting something—a second string to his bow.

But the aim must be to provide proper encouragement to talent in respect of those engaged in these arts and crafts. Local bodies and even Central Governments can do something in the matter. Providing exhibitions, institution of prizes and establishing museums are some of the methods to be employed. Improvement of the training for talented craftsmen may produce good results. The increased facilities for contact with other countries can be turned to good account.

The kings of old, both in the North and South, irrespective of the return, took a fancy for the preservation of art; for example they built very beautiful, magnificent temples in South India. Ordinary individuals would not find it worthwhile undertaking such works. As far as I know, the former States of Travancore and Cochin have contributed a great deal for the preservation of the arts which is very laudable.

Mr. Fernando: Economic considerations could not be ignored in Ceylon.

Chairman: The general feeling is more for the cultural aspect and less for the economic. Is it not?

Mr. Sastri: I wish to rely on the well known distinction between fine arts and the useful arts. If you take subjects like music, dance or drama, there is perhaps more room for a full emphasis on the cultural side. On the other hand take for instance the handicrafts—mat-weaving. I do not think there is any use of a long-time programme which ignores the economic side. I think we should take full account of the impact of modern conditions such as mass production of machine made goods. We have to consider the position of handloom

weaving which has been with us for centuries in the present context of power-weaving. The mills are there, the hand-looms are also still there. Is it worthwhile preserving the handloom in the face of the powerloom, and if so, at what cost and for what purposes, and under what regulations vis-à-vis the powerloom products? These are questions which I think we cannot possibly avoid in dealing with what, I call, following common practice, the useful arts as distinct from the fine arts.

Chairman: Now I understand our position.

Dr. K. K. Pillay: Among the useful arts there may be an element of artistic cultural value, for instance mat weaving. Certain people are skilled in displaying their colours and certain people are skilled in textiles. These two are different arts.

Mr. Sehgal: Patronage is disappearing for quality goods, and the market goods are on the increase. If you want Americans to buy your goods, we have to cater to their needs.

Mr. Fernando: It is very difficult to separate the cultural from the economic aspect. I think they are closely linked together.

Dr. Ehrenfels: Would tradition be helpful? Economics and culture cannot probably be separated. But culture can give direction to all the weaving mills. On this direction we may agree. That seems to me the aim or purpose of this seminar. We cannot hope to get a world agreement. Preservation is desirable, to educate the tastes. And if we agree what is tasteful, perhaps we can get directions in which economic and fruitful results can be carried on. Machines produce cloth, or machine produces furniture which is tasteful in accordance with the traditional ways. For instance, Victorian age chairs are constructed in such a way that it is uncomfortable for most people to sit on, while the modern chairs are perhaps more comfortable. These are questions with which we are concerned now.

Mr. Mookerjee: This is the problem facing all of us. As a matter of fact we have created this problem. I know from the various unions that it is very difficult to get good handicraft products in our cottage industries emporiums. The craftsman is not to be blamed. It is we who have created this problem. Products in the traditional line were very popular.

We have completely misguided the craftsman by misusing the new ideas, and they have lost the tradition.

Mr. Sastri: I think Mr. Mookerjee is right in pointing out that the craftsmen are misguided by misused ideas. They are faced with the choice between tasteful and cheaper things. While we show one specimen to the foreign purchaser, we often find that when we get the bulk order, middlemen resort to methods which reflect on the craftsmen and perhaps also spoil the market. The second thing is that the modern buyers from the West especially American tourists are in a hurry and want to buy much and buy soon—a thing bound to tell on the quality goods. In olden times only a few Persian carpets were available at any particular time; but if you want a million Persian carpets in six months, mechanization and its consequences becomes inevitable. The artistic quality disappears. If you care for artistic quality you should not talk of bulk production. It is for us to discuss the matter and say which we consider is desirable, and to what extent and how changes could be made to meet the new requirements without avoidable detriment to art. This is a very grave problem and it would be useful for the seminar to think and try to lay down general propositions for guidance.

Dr. Junankar: Prof. Sastri said: if you are trying to preserve a few individual craftsmen of quality in order to preserve crafts, the problem is different. But you have to go beyond preservation. After all if by encouraging certain modes of production of craft work you seek to preserve art, there comes in the question of market for the product, the economic factor which is important not only in the individual's life but also in the life of the community. For as he said if you want only five Persian carpets, you can produce them leisurely, taking a long interval. But if you want say five lakhs of carpets you are undertaking a very heavy responsibility, and we are not so rich in resources. And that problem arises not only in crafts, but in all the processes of industrialization, where creativity is lost and still productivity is low. Are you prepared to accept the state of affairs where a few people profit at the expense of a large number? Most people are not going to accept conditions of poverty in the name of quality, and that applies all round. Craftsmen cannot eke out their livelihood by plying their craft. Outstanding ability in crafts

should be encouraged as far as possible, but this is a special problem separate from the operation of general economic trends and their results.

Mr. Mookerjee: In Scandinavia the handicrafts have developed in spite of their catering to the needs suited to modern purposes. Similarly in Japan, even though it is a highly industrialized country, they have preserved the handicrafts which are very popular even today. But handicrafts cannot resort to mass production. In itself it will be appreciated both by foreigners as well as local people. Take, for instance, the handicrafts of Japan. They are appreciated in Japan as well as in foreign countries. I think the best handicraft cannot be machine-made.

Mr. Sehgal: Quantity cannot be had without industrialization.

Mr. Fernando: I do not mean that we should mechanize; some arrangement must be found for a living wage.

Next, Prof. Sambamurti read his paper:

THE ARTS OF MUSIC AND DANCE: SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR PRESERVATION

by

PROF. P. SAMBAMOORTHY, B.A., B.L.

INDIA has developed a magnificent system of music and dance. They show the heights to which the genius of man can soar in the realm of creative art. People brought up in the tradition of Western music are likely to think that all melodic systems of music are not highly developed systems. It is erroneous to think so. The builders of the system of Indian music knew the laws of harmony and could have anticipated Western music, if they had so desired, centuries ago.

Two thousand years ago, the builders of the Indian system, hit upon the *rāga* system and saw its musical potentialities. Avoiding all ideas of harmony, they deliberately chose to develop Indian music along the lines of *rāgas*, and with very good results.

Harmony is *samvāditva* in Sanskrit. Notes which harmonize with each other and notes which do not harmonize with each other are the same, whether it is Europe, India or any other country in the world. All musicians are cognizant of these relationships. *Samvādi-svaras* are notes which harmonize with each other and these are consonantal notes. *Vivādi-svaras* are notes which do not harmonize with each other and these are dissonant notes. *Anuvādi-svaras* are notes which when sounded together are neither so pleasing nor so repulsive.

Just as a poet uses the language of his country to express his poetic thoughts, a composer gives vent to his musical thoughts through the system of music of his country. This truth must be recognized. If Beethoven was born in India, sure and certain, he would have composed admirable Kritis, Khiyals, Bhajans and *Rāgmālikas* in Indian *rāgas*. If Tyāgaraja was born in Europe, he would have composed symphonies, and sonatas.

It must be understood that harmony and melody are two forms of the musical language. One can express his surging musical thoughts within him through the medium of melody

or harmony. Melodies are conceived in the West with a *harmonic conscience*, i.e. with a view to their being ultimately harmonized and performed. But melodies in India are conceived only with the idea of portraying the rāgabhāva or the individuality and form of the rāga.

Rationality and comprehensiveness are two of the features of Indian music. Its quarter-tones are those which are derived in the cycle of fifths. Its scale system is all-comprehensive. Based on the twelve notes of the gamut, it has developed the system of 72 *melas* and also 5184 *miśra melas* or mixed scales. The melodic minor scale, the harmonic minor scale, the whole tone scale of Debussy, the scale popularized by Scriabin all find a place in Indian music.

A multiplicity of rhythms is used in Indian music. There are the 35 *sulādi tālas* or time-measures and the 175 *tālas*; also the *chāpu tāla* (3 plus 4; 2 plus 3; 1 plus 2; 4 plus 5) and many other mixed time-measures.

India is the first country in the history of world music to evolve a system of solmization. The Western solfa system doh, ray, mi, fah, soh, la, te, dates only from the time of Guido d'Arezzo (10th century A.D.). But the Indian solfa system sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, is referred to in the *Nārada Parīvrājaka Upanishad*, written many centuries before the Christian Era. The art of singing extempore svaras is a characteristic feature of Indian music.

The art of drumming is a great art in India. The cross rhythmical accompaniment provided by a drummer in an Indian concert deserves special notice. He provides a rhythmical harmony, the like of which is almost unknown in the West. In India, one is able to extemporize on rhythms and give a rhythmical display on a drum for one hour and more. Rhythmical solmization has also been developed.

Extemporization is a regular feature of Indian music and is based on sound principles.

It is frequently asked why it is that when India's literature, religion, and philosophy have been understood by the rest of the world, music alone has not been understood so far. The reason is that music is essentially a practical art. Indian music, particularly based on quarter-tones and subtle graces, cannot be communicated through books. That music has got to be studied from a master and grasped.

Music and dancing are essentially practical arts and have been handed down through oral tradition. The preceptor taught these arts to chosen disciples who in their turn taught them to their disciples and in that manner ensured the continuance of these two arts for centuries. Due to the changed conditions of the times there is the danger that these two arts may not be cultivated and pursued in the proper manner. It is time that steps are taken to ensure the excellence and purity of these traditional arts which truly reflect the wisdom of our ancients.

At present there is the appalling deterioration in public taste. The average concert-goer has not got the inclination to understand and appreciate high-class music and high-class dance. The lack of encouragement to Kālakshepam and Instrumental concerts is a deplorable feature. Performers on upa-tāla-vādyas like Kanjira, Ghaṭam, Dolak and Gotṭu vādyam are rarely engaged in concerts. If this apathy continues, the art of playing on these instruments will become a thing of the past.

Musical Associations should be enabled to give their members concerts by accredited performers of classical music and classical dance. The government or other organizations should give subsidies to such associations. The associations would do well to place in the hands of the audience details relating to the items to be performed during the day and also intelligent and critical notes concerning those items. The printed programmes should be so attractive that the members will be induced to treasure them up in their library.

All the leading newspapers in the country should have Art critics on their staff. Through their periodical writings and intelligent reviews of concerts they can raise the standards of appreciation.

Educational authorities should insist on the teaching of music in all schools and dancing in all girls' schools. Authorities of Public Halls should allow educational institutions to give concerts, operas, dance dramas or variety entertainments by their pupils free of rent or at a nominal rent.

Every temple should have on its establishment a qualified musician who besides giving recitals of music on sacred occasions, should teach music to the worshippers and help them to sing sacred songs. He can also organize temple choirs.

Ritualistic dance has practically disappeared from temples. This is an important branch of our heritage. It is only in sacred dances that we come across some rare time-measures as the Nava-sandhi tālas and some interesting rhythmical sequences i.e., (jatis and bols). Temples should be enabled to employ *ad hoc* performers of sacred dances to perform on stated occasions.

Contemporary composers have not received the recognition due to them. Their compositions are frequently performed over the Radio without any decent sum going to them as royalty. Sangīta sabhās while inviting top-ranking musicians to perform, can request them to include in their programme one or two selections from contemporary composers.

In dance performances, there is the tendency to dilute the programme with too many items of a lighter nature. Audiences must evince interest in witnessing classical items.

A standard notation for dance should be evolved.

The publication of a series of volumes pertaining to Dance Iconography and Music Iconography with explanatory notes should be undertaken.

A permanent gallery of āhārya abhinaya through the ages i.e., costumes and jewels worn by dancers during the different centuries in India, should be set up.

Steps should be taken to stage in metropolitan towns, the dance dramas of classical authors like Meraṭṭūr Venkata-rāma Śāstri.

A peripatetic commission should be appointed to collect and preserve all the manuscripts pertaining to the arts of music and dance. That commission can also record on tape, the different types of folk music which are fast becoming obsolete.

Courses in Kālakshepam should be given and talented pupils paid stipends to undergo the course. Kālakshepams are a valuable medium for communicating to the masses knowledge pertaining to sacred lore and thereby making them lead good lives.

The performances of dance dramas should be revived in temples. The *Pallaki seve Prabandham* was performed for more than 200 years in Tiruvārūr Temple, but has now been stopped although endowments for the performance of the play still exist.

Bhajana mandirs should be established everywhere. Kuṭumba bhajanas i.e., group worship by the members of a family through the singing of sacred songs and nāmāvalis should be revived. Nagara sankirtana or community singing should also be revived.

Travelling squads of musicians and dancers should visit each village as per a planned itinerary, give concerts there and bring the joy of these arts to the rustic folk. They can also teach some songs to the villagers before going to the next village. A mobile exhibition van containing representative musical instruments used in the performances of art music, sacred music, dance music, folk music and martial music can well accompany the squads.

Musical stone pillars adorning some temples are the pride of South India. Music played on those stone pillars should be recorded on tape and sent to all countries.

Mr. Sehgal: Folk songs and folk dance are affected by classical music; their popularization is a hard task. Cheap entertainment has better attraction.

Prof. Sambamurti: Folk music has an important place in the cultural heritage.

Mr. Sehgal: Booklets of original folk songs should be made available to schools and the public.

Mr. Mookerjee: Booklets pertaining to folk arts should also be prepared.

Chairman: Dacca Radio broadcasts folk music. Only government patronage is necessary for the preservation of folk dance.

Mr. R. M. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto then summarized his paper:

THE PRESERVATION OF JAVANESE VOCAL MUSIC IN INDONESIA

by

R. M. SUTJIPTO WIRJOSUPARTO

Lecturer, University of Indonesia in Djakarta

Ladies and gentlemen; Mr. Chairman!

It is a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity to read a paper on one of the interesting problems concerning one aspect of the culture of Indonesia before these distinguished delegates of several South-East Asian countries and scholars from all parts from India. As the traditional art of Indonesia is very comprehensive and both time as well as space cannot allow me to read a paper on the whole subject, I want to limit myself to discussing only one subject, i.e. Javanese vocal music. I do not pretend that the Javanese vocal music is the best specimen of Indonesian traditional art, but one of the reasons that I am discussing this subject is, that as an Indonesian coming from Java I have a fair knowledge of this kind of art.

It is well-known that Indonesia consists of some hundreds of islands and that those regions have their own traditional art, so that besides the traditional art of Java, there are other kinds of traditional art, like the traditional art of West-Java (Sundanese), Madura, Bali, Celebes, the Moluccas, Borneo and the one of Sumatra. Although the pattern of these Indonesian traditional arts is almost the same, each of them differs in some details, so that exactly speaking there is no Indonesian traditional art. On the contrary, scientifically speaking it is correct to say that there are only regional traditional arts of Indonesia, with the stress on the word regional. So the traditional art of Java is the possession of the Indonesians living in Java and the traditional art of Bali is the possession of the Indonesians in Bali and so on. On account of this none of these regional traditional arts can claim to be traditional art of Indonesia in particular, as the people of Sumatra for example or any other region in Indonesia cannot follow the traditional art of Java and so they cannot

appreciate the value of it. So is the case with any other regional traditional art, which cannot be appreciated by other people in Indonesia living in other regions.

From the political point of view the regional traditional arts of Indonesia cannot be considered yet to be a unifying cultural element. The only cultural element in Indonesia, which can unify the population of Indonesia, is the bahasa Indonesia, which has been accepted as the National language. This language is known by any Indonesian, no matter from which part of Indonesia he is hailing. If I am not mistaken, the Indonesian Government is also trying to create an Indonesian traditional art, which should have the same unifying function like the Indonesian language. That means that the expected Indonesian traditional art claims to be the possession of any Indonesian, no matter to which region of Indonesia he belongs. So people from Sumatra as well as from Java, to take only those two examples, will appreciate this new art of Indonesia as the art of Indonesia as a whole. This can only be done by preserving the traditional regional forms of art, so that from those sources a new kind of traditional art is crystallizing, which can be appreciated by the whole Indonesian nation.

As it is still an experiment, nobody in Indonesia can predict the form of the Indonesian art of the future. That it will be based on the patterns of the traditional arts of Indonesia is the sincere hope of every Indonesian. But in the meantime, as Western civilization is also penetrating in Indonesia, there are also many indications that the regional traditional arts have to make acculturation with Western cultural elements. One of the reasons is, among others, the fact, that students of the High Schools in Indonesia have to learn songs based on the Western tonal system.

In order to have a clear idea of this interesting problem, let us discuss a specimen of the traditional art of Java. As the term traditional is conditioned by a long history through which this art was growing, it is not unreasonable that I discuss a part of the Javanese traditional art, because this Javanese art had a long history in the past. Besides this, the Javanese culture was and is very flexible; that means that during several hundred years that Java was in contact with other foreign cultures, the Javanese culture was very receptive. But

the Javanese culture not only received the foreign elements, but it moulded the new foreign elements into the pattern of Javanese culture.¹ As a result of this acculturation the Javanese culture underwent some modifications, but it preserved its special Javanese character.

In the Javanese history of art it has happened that in a certain period the Javanese culture was superseded by a foreign culture, with the result that the Javanese cultural elements were inactive for the time being. But as soon as the foreign cultural elements were waning, these Javanese cultural elements came back to the foreground and pushed the foreign elements aside. The history of Javanese vocal music will prove this hypothesis. But as there are no written records or documents which preserve the vocal music of Java, this problem can be approached by discussing the Javanese metres which form an essential part of Javanese vocal music.

Some 60 years ago one of the most prominent Dutch scholars who was making the first research in the field of cultural history of Indonesia, namely Dr. J. L. A. Brandes, put forward the theory, that the Javanese people had the knowledge of the following matters:²

1. The wayang; a kind of shadowplay.
2. Gamelan or Javanese orchestra.
3. Metre.
4. The art of weaving batik cloths.
5. Metal industry.
6. Monetary system.
7. Sea-voyage.
8. Astronomy.
9. Cultivation by means of artificial irrigation.
10. State organization.

This theory mentioned above was challenged by other scholars like Dr. N. J. Krom³ and by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.⁴ When the study of Indonesian culture was still in its infancy and not much was known about the indigenous Indonesian culture, the theory of Dr. Brandes seemed to be

¹ H. G. Quaritch Wales: *The making of Greater India*, London 1951. Page 21.

² Dr. J. L. A. Brandes: 'Een jayapatra of een acte van rechterlijke uitspraak'. In: *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Volume 32, (1889). Page 122 ff.

³ Dr. N. J. Krom: *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*. Tweede, herziene druk.'s-Graavenhage 193. Pages 47-54.

⁴ Dr. R. C. Majumdar: *Susarpadvipa*. Volume II, Part I. Page 33.

very weak. But in the past few years, when the study of cultural anthropology and cultural history of Indonesia made a great progress at the hands of Indonesians who tried to discuss these matters from the Indonesian point of view, the theory of Dr. Brandes which formerly was supposed to be untenable according to the view of Dr. Krom appears now to be right.

Let us take the metre as example. Dr. N. J. Krom denied the possibility that the Javanese people had an indigenous metre¹, which opinion was taken over by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.² It was a pity, that those two scholars did not make any serious attempt to investigate these problems very profoundly, although the study of linguistics and cultural history of Indonesia in the times when these two scholars made their statements, was making a good progress. But these scholars did not make any effort to use the results, which could enable them to have a new approach to these subjects.

As for myself, I can prove that before the so-called pre-Hindu times, the Indonesian, as was suggested by Dr. Brandes, had already a kind of metre, which has been used all over Indonesia up to the present time. The fact is that this metre is very famous in Malay literature and is called "pantun-metre"³; for convenience I will designate this indigenous Javanese metre with the term Javanese pantun. This pantun-metre is spread all over Indonesia, so that this metre is still used in the Malay speaking areas of Sumatra and Malaya; it is also used by the Bataks in North Sumatra⁴ and also in the Sundanese speaking area in West-Java⁵ and also in some regions of Celebes⁶ etc. As Middle Celebes is inhabited by the Toradja-people, who were living in isolation in the mountainous areas of Middle Celebes, the pantun-metre which is still used by them is a strong proof that this metre was already existing before the Hindu period. In

¹ Dr. N. J. Krom: *Ibid.*, pages 51-52.

² Dr. R. C. Majumdar: *Ibid.*, page 35.

³ Dr. C. Hooykaas: *Over Maleische Literatuur*. Tweede Druk. Leiden 1957. Page 57 ff.

⁴ W. A. Braasem: *Proza en poezie om het heilige meer der Bataks*. Djakarta. Amsterdam. Surabaia. 1951. Page 54 ff.

⁵ Prof. Dr. Hoessein Djajadiningrat: *De magische achtergrond van de Maleische pantoen*. Rede Batavia. 1934.

⁶ Dr. N. Adriani en Alb. C. Kruyt: *De Baris-sprekende Toradja*. 3 Vol. 1912.

other words, because the ancestors of the Indonesian people were supposed to come from one home-land in South-East Asia¹ in the times before they were spreading in their new home-land in Indonesia, the pantun-metre was a part of the culture of the Indonesian people as a whole. This is the reason why the people of Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Celebes etc. know this metre and simultaneously it proves that the Javanese people had the knowledge of some metres.

Regarding this pantun-metre it can be said, that it consists of 4 lines, of which the last syllable of the first line is rhyming with the last one of the 3rd line, whereas the last syllable of the 2nd line is rhyming with the 4th line. This kind of metre belongs to the simplest form of metres in Indonesia, especially in Java.

This is not the only example of metre in ancient Java and according to some scholars there should be many kinds of metres in the so-called Hindu period. When Indian culture started to spread in Indonesia, the indigenous Javanese metres were put aside,² in particular when the Indian metres were used for making poems. So in Old-Javanese literature the kakawin used Indian metres, such as Śārdūlavikrīdita, Kusumavicitra, Jāgati, Vasantatilakā etc.³ One of the peculiarities of the Indian metres is the use of long and short syllables according to certain rules. If the Sanskrit language was suitable for composing poems based on these Indian metres, because Sanskrit language knew the difference between short and long vowels, it was not the case with the Old-Javanese language. On account of this the Old-Javanese language was forced to use short and long syllables and if the attempt was successful, then the success was due to the untired efforts of the Javanese poets. On the contrary, anybody could expect that this artificial form of poetry could not last very long, when the Indian influence was waning in Java.

The kakawin poems which were based on Indian metres were chanted, but what kind of melodies were used is still a matter of dispute. But as these kakawins are still in use in

¹ Dr. H. Kern: 'Taalkundige gegevens ter bepaling van het stamland der Maleisch-Polynesische Volken'. In: *Verspreide Geschriften*. Volume VII Pages 105-120.

² Dr. C. G. Berg: *Inleiding tot de studie van het Oud-Javaansche*. Soerakarta 1928. Pages 67-69.

³ Dr. H. Kern: 'Wrttasancaya'. In: *Verspreide Geschriften*. Volume IX.

Bali, and they are to be chanted by those who are reading these kakawins, one can notice that the tune is based on the difference between short and long syllables. Based on this comparison it can be inferred that the Javanese people knew vocal music.

Due to the rule that when any form of culture is accepted by another culture, the new accepted cultural element undergoes some reworking or moulding,¹ the Indian metres also underwent some reworking. In the times when the Indian cultural influence became weak at about the 15th century, namely when the kingdom of Majapahit was declining, the Indian metres became unpopular. The Javanese poetry at those times used again the Javanese indigenous metres, such as the tengahan (middle) metres and the macapat; the last mentioned one is still popular.

The Indian metres, however, which are called tembang gede, which means long metres, because these metres are relatively very long in form, if they are compared with the Javanese indigenous metres, are still used together with the Javanese macapat metres. So if in ancient times the Indian metres were used separately from the indigenous metres, after the time of Majapahit the Indian metres were used together with the Javanese macapat metres, both of them forming a new unit. So the Indian metres as well as the Javanese metres are used together in vocal music, which is usually accompanied by the tunes of the gamelan or Javanese orchestra. Here we can see that the metre is very closely interrelated with the vocal music.

The fact that the Indian metres can be merged with the Javanese macapat metres is a phenomenon, which is due to the compromising character of the Indonesian culture, especially the Javanese culture. When this Indian cultural element was moulded in the pattern of the culture of Indonesia, in this case the Javanese culture, the Indian cultural element underwent reworking, so that at the end it was not felt as a foreign cultural element any more. It is making a new harmony with the Javanese cultural elements.

In the present time the metres form an essential part of the Javanese vocal music, because the Javanese music is just complete, if it is accompanied by songs. In this connection

¹ H. G. Quaritch Wales: *The Making of Greater India*. Page 11.

it is worthwhile to know, that one metre can be sung on several melodies. So if I take one example, say the kinanti macapat metre, it can be sung on several melodies.¹ The melody depends on the mood or situation which is described by the song. A gay mood is sung in quite a different way than in the case of a sad mood and so on.

This Javanese vocal music is quite different from the Western vocal music, because the last mentioned one is fixed by the music-notes, so that the tune can only be produced in accordance with the music-notes. Besides this peculiarity which makes the Javanese vocal music unique in its sort, there is another peculiarity in Javanese songs, that is the fact that these Javanese songs and music have two tonal systems or two tone-scales, namely the pelog tonal system which is septatonic and the slendro tonal system which is pentatonic.² So if for example the kinanti-metre is sung on the basis of the pelog tonal system, the tune will be quite different from the slendro tonal system. It is very difficult for foreigners to recognize the difference between these two kinds of tonal system, but for every Javanese it is very easy to know what kind of tonal system is used when there is some Javanese music. This knowledge can only be obtained by experience.

When formerly the Javanese artists learned the songs and metres by heart and by practising to play the Javanese orchestra, some 60 years ago, several artists belonging to the nobility of the Javanese court in Surakarta in Middle Java were afraid, that one day the melodies of the Javanese songs should be lost. In order to prevent this great loss, the Chief-Minister of the kingdom of Surakarta formed a committee with the purpose to make suggestions for inventing a Javanese system for music-notes. It appeared that the approved system of Javanese music-notes can be used very easily and after this invention there was no more danger that a certain melody should be lost.

As this system of music-notes used ciphers to mark a tone, the Javanese artist can learn the melody by reading these ciphers, each of which has a special tone. In case it is concerned with the pelog tonal system, the ciphers are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, whereas when it is concerned with the slendro tonal

¹ See Appendix I.

² J. Kunst: *Music in Java. Its History, its Theory and its Technique.* The Hague. 1949. Volume I. Page 12 ff.

system we have the following ciphers: 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The ciphers are pronounced in Javanese language, so that those ciphers are dji, ro, lu, pat, ma, nem, and tu.

As the result was satisfactory, this system has been applied to the schools, so that the pupils of the schools who receive lessons in Javanese vocal music can read this system of music-notes. This result is one of the successes which has been achieved by the Javanese people in their effort to preserve the traditional vocal music. Being aware that the Indonesian people, especially people of Java, will be affected by the urban civilization which usually brings about some frictions in the traditional culture and art, the Government of Indonesia is doing its utmost to promote the use of Javanese vocal music. The urban civilization with its modern film culture and with its low standard and cheap music cannot be stopped and prevented, but to leave the innocent people to its ruining clutches, will be an unwise policy. Therefore it is gratifying to know that the Government of Indonesia is taking measures against this.

In order to make the Indonesian youth, especially those youths who are coming from Middle and East Java, traditional art-minded, the Ministry of Education made a regulation that "karawitan" or refined song and music has been made a compulsory subject at the High Schools. That means that students reading in the Matriculation course have to study this subject for 3 years. So it is expected that the educated youth have a sound knowledge of their own traditional vocal music and that they are not easily misguided by the popular low standard film songs.

Beside the effort mentioned above, the Ministry of Education is giving subsidies and grants to cultural associations, which are promoting the study of Javanese vocal music. Last but not least, the Ministry of Information which is in charge of the broadcasting of indigenous vocal music, takes also an important part in preserving the traditional art of Indonesia.

After Independence the Government of Indonesia founded a Conservatorium for Javanese music at Surakarta with the purpose to train experts in Javanese songs and music. As this Institute is training students at the level of B.A. course, it is to be expected that in the near future these experts can carry on research in the fields of traditional songs and music.

Outside the regions of Middle-Java and East Java, the Government of Indonesia is also taking care of the regional traditional art. Some 2 or 3 months ago the Government of Indonesia founded another Conservatorium at Bandung, especially for the study of Sundanese music and songs.

Besides the activities of the Government of Indonesia, the people of Indonesia are not indifferent towards the preservation of their local art. They are establishing associations to promote the study and practice of the local traditional art, and if their financial conditions are not so smooth, those associations can apply for subsidies from the Government. These are only some glimpses of the efforts of the Government of Indonesia in cooperation with the people. Now let me end by stating, that the people of Indonesia do not worry at all about the future of their traditional culture. Because the history of Indonesia teaches us, that the culture and art of Indonesia were always capable of preserving its personality in such a way, that the foreign cultural elements could be moulded in the pattern of the indigenous Indonesian culture. If there are some groups of people who are looking with fear at the influence of the urban civilization, we Indonesians are convinced that this urban civilization cannot push away our traditional art.

A P P E N D I X

I. *Kinanti (Macapat metre).*

(An episode from the story of Rāma, namely when Hanumān was looking for Sītā in Laṅkā).

Translation

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Anoman malumpat sampun. | 1. Hanuman just jumped. |
| 2. Prapteng witing nagasari. | 2. and reached the nāga-puspa-tree. |
| 3. Mulat mangandap katingal | 3. When he was looking beneath, he saw |
| 4. Wanodya'ju kuru aking | 4. a beautiful lady who was very thin |
| 5. Gelung rusak awor kisma | 5. miserable and whose hair was tousled, while her body was clad with sand. |
| 6. Kang iga-iga kaeksi. | 6. Her ribs were to be seen. |

II. *Kusumastuti (Tembang Gede metre).*

(Derived from an Indian metre).

Translation

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Duh kulup putraningsun,
sireku was wantji. | 1. My son, it is now time. |
| 2. Pisah klajan djeneng in-
gwang, jwa kulineng ardi. | 2. to leave me. It is not
good for you to stay in
the forest. |
| 3. Betjik sira neng pradja,
suwiteng narpati. | 3. It is better for you to stay
in the capital to serve
yourself at the king's. |
| 4. Lamun ta wekas ingwang,
jwa pegat teteki. | 4. But I ask you not to for-
get to do penance. |

At the end the speaker gave a demonstration singing one and the same song in different modes.

Dr. Raghavan: Requested Mr. Wirjosuparto to clarify the concept of *Patet* in Indonesian music which, he said, bore similarity to the Indian *Rāga*.

Dr. Shahidullah: East Bengal songs resemble very much the songs sung by Mr. Sutjipto.

Dr. K. K. Pillay: It is interesting to learn how the Ministry of Education in Indonesia is devoting well-merited attention to the encouragement of music. It is commendable that the ministry is giving subsidies and grants to cultural associations, which are promoting the study of Javanese vocal music. This can be adopted by other governments, universities and Fine Arts Societies.

It is too late in the day to be speaking of the chastening influence of music. To many it is one of those few blessings which make life worth living. So efforts made to encourage music are praiseworthy. I feel that music should be made compulsory in the lower grades of education. It can be harmonized with religious, political, or social themes, but apart from the appeal to emotion, music can be a good disciplinary.

Moreover if adults take the trouble of listening to and appreciating the music of other nationalities and races, mutual understanding can be promoted. Today aversion to other

people's music is far too common. An effort to understand the music of others will show the absurdity of animosity.

It is idle to talk of want of time to be devoted to music. In fact music finds an outlet at short notice and at all kinds of places. Even in respect of making music a compulsory item in the curriculum people need not raise the bogey of the excessive weight of the curriculum at present. Nor need it appear odd to people that such a counsel is offered. Some decades ago the thought of making physical education compulsory was viewed with dismay and even disgust by many of the older generations. Now every one realizes that the move has been undertaken not a day too soon. Similarly music must have its deserved place and the sooner the better.

The Session ended at 5.00 p.m. Later, at 5.30 p.m. there was a lecture illustrated by a number of colour slides delivered by Mr. Fernando on 'Kandyan Painting.' The lecture was held in Room No. 48 of the University Research Departments and presided over by Dr. K. K. Pillay.

Wednesday, 5 November 1958

The day's session began at 11.00 a.m. when Sri Austin Jayawardhana of Ceylon read his paper:

FOLKLORE, MUSIC AND DANCE

by

AUSTIN JAYAWARDHANA (COLOMBO)

CEYLON like the other countries of South and South East Asia has inherited a traditional culture, the evolution of which is traceable through several millennia of dateable history. Based on the culture of the North Indian Aryans, enriched by successive waves of external influences, Sinhalese culture, besides being a conglomeration of many admirable achievements of various people and races, has in the course of over 2500 years attained a considerable degree of independence and originality. Not only in her literature but also in her plastic arts, Ceylon evinced a national keenness in integrating features of diverse origin into a product of an entirely original character. Inspired by the lofty ideals contained in the teachings of the Buddha, which were introduced to them almost at the beginning of their history, the people of Ceylon developed a philosophy of life which exerted a tremendous influence on their political, social and religious institutions. Centuries of independence, during which the nation itself developed a virility and creative talent, made an indelible stamp on the life of the people by the time they were rudely shocked by the influx of Western influence.

Our country which had for centuries maintained a lively contact with the West both through trade and diplomacy, without playing an inferior role, was, with the coming of the Portuguese in 1505, compelled to be a colony of Western rulers whose advanced techniques of warfare and material prosperity became the bane of Sinhalese culture. The Dutch followed the Portuguese and the British followed the Dutch, and within 400 years of Western domination, the traditional culture of the country was put through a trial the like of which it had not known in history. The Western domination brought about a cleavage between the masses who were properly "the ultimate custodians and the abiding transmitters of the traditional culture of its society" and the materially and socially superior ruling classes.

The upper classes, in their anxiety to imitate as slavishly as possible the foreign rulers, adopted their manners and customs, their food and dress, their fashions and dances, and their religion and arts. The gulf between the common people and these classes was steadily widening during the last century when the growth of nationalism arrested it. Thanks to the indefatigable services of a galaxy of statesmen, writers and religious workers, a new and abiding interest in the traditional culture of the land was created in the upper classes and this interest has been steadily increasing since the regaining of independence. Yet the effects of four centuries of foreign subjugation have not ceased to make themselves felt; nor have they substantially decreased in their influence over the people. With the growing consciousness of a need to revive the traditional culture of the nation, while of course appreciating what is best in all cultures of the world, we are faced with numerous problems practically in every aspect of our cultural heritage.

I propose to discuss in the course of this paper the problems connected with three aspects of the traditional culture of the Sinhalese: folklore, music and dance.

It is almost an axiom that the folklore of a country delineates the truest picture of the hopes and aspirations, fears and longings of its people, untarnished by literary and aesthetic requisites. Folklore represents, as is generally accepted, the memories of the ancient cultures of the people. The traditions, beliefs, observances, customs and superstitions of the common man as opposed to those of the cultured or modernized section of society, are a valuable index to the cultural attainments of the community.

My country, like many others of this part of the world, is replete with traditions, customs and superstitions whose history is traceable to a hoary past. The theory that the memory of the people is short and that the folklore of a country depicts not more than a century of the community's existence, is disproved beyond any doubt by a plethora of facts. In our country the folklore records stories of pre-historic times when the Island is supposed to have been inhabited by Yakshas and Nāgas. Though the narrators of these tales expect us to believe, as they do, that these were demons and goblins of unholy design, there is ample evidence to regard these legends

as memories of the society which actually existed before the arrival of the Aryans.

Perhaps, even the legends connected with Rākshasas of King Rāvaṇa whose defeat by Rāma is the central theme of a great Indian epic, were similarly a survival of the past. Coming to more historical times, Sinhalese folklore contains legends pertaining to the coming of the Aryans and their early days in the Island. There is the story of Kuvenī, the Yakshiṇī who lured Seven hundred followers of Vijaya to a dark dungeon and released them only after she had become the consort of Vijaya. Reminiscent of the episode of Ulysses and Circe, this may be adduced as evidence of the days when the Greeks and the Indian Aryans were neighbours, if not members of the same community. Though the tales and legends, which have been traditionally handed down from generation to generation, form a subject of absorbing interest from the literary point of view, the cultural values they represent are more valuable for our purpose. The phases through which the mental outlook of the Sinhalese people has passed are discernible by a study of even the simplest folk-tales. Mr. Martin Wickremasinghe, one of the foremost Sinhalese writers, has drawn an interesting comparison between a Sinhalese folk-tale and a story current amongst the Trobriand Islanders. This folk-tale is connected with the Daffodil Orchid (*Ispeal-speciosa*) which in the Sinhalese Language is called "the yam that killed the sister." The Trobriand Islanders' version of the story is a pure and simple myth where the magical element is more prominent. While the Trobriand Islanders attributed an unnatural love of a sister for her brother as a result of her contact with a magic oil, the Sinhalese traces it to the aphrodisiac effect of a "yam". As Mr. Martin Wickremasinghe has shown "the Sinhalese folk-tale devoid of supernatural elements, reads like a recent intelligent adaptation of an original myth to emphasise the aphrodisiac properties of the local plant." There is very little doubt that the two versions indicate a common origin, but two levels of cultural maturity. The Pacific Islanders are yet in the primitive stage with a belief in omens, portents and magic, which influence every aspect of their life, while the Sinhalese story came into existence at a time when the people had achieved a higher degree of civilization when realities of nature were better understood.

Every age brought with it its peculiar influences on the folklore of the people. If the original settlers of our Island were prone to believe in demoniacal powers, the introduction of Buddhism three centuries later made them more rational in their outlook on life. The beliefs of the early era were either abandoned in full or were modified. An interesting example of the effect of a subsequent culture on the beliefs and superstitions of the people is the complete change in the fundamentals of the exorcism cult of the Sinhalese. Before Buddhism gained its control over the minds of the people of this country, the magician with his incantations, charms and dances, promised redemption from misery and promotion of welfare. He invoked the deities and demons of his day and believed himself potent enough to control these invisible powers. But when Buddhism came and afforded little encouragement to such rites, the people began to revise their attitude towards them. The magical powers attributed to their charms were now transferred to the Buddha and the same magician invoked the same gods and demons and sought to control them by reference to the sublime virtues of the Buddha. His charms were partly or wholly replaced by passages from the Buddhist Canon. This tendency grew and with each successive wave of foreign cultural influences, the beliefs underwent a change. The new ideals were accepted and integrated into the existing mass of beliefs and superstitions. For instance, when the gods and goddesses of South India came to be worshipped by the Sinhalese Buddhists, they merely accepted them into a loosely formulated Buddhist pantheon. The god or goddess was considered to be either a devotee of the Buddha or one aspiring to be a future Buddha. Thus, Vishnu, in the eyes of the Buddhists, is the guardian deity of the Island, who had received his commission from the Buddha himself through the king of gods, Indra. The Sinhalese, like their forefathers in India, were always ready to borrow any cultural traits of another people and adopt them as their own. This phenomenon caused a swift change in the life and the attitudes of the Sinhalese right down the ages. We could, in spite of twenty-five centuries of recorded history, find immense difficulty in tracing the gradual evolution of our culture if it were not for the faithful records which human memory has preserved for us in the form of folk-tales. Therefore, the preservation

as well as the interpretation of these tales has become a vital necessity for the correct understanding of the cultural developments of the Sinhalese race.

Similarly, the customs of the by-gone days, which are gradually being over-shadowed by more modern and westernized attitudes, indicate the true traits of our traditional culture. May I mention an ancient Sinhalese custom which has often been ridiculed by both the Westerner and the westernized Ceylonese. A Sinhalese visiting a friend or a relation or a superior with the intention of asking for a favour will not broach the subject until he is specifically questioned by the host. The reply in the first instance would be that the visit was not for a specific purpose. This custom which is a happy survival of the ancient Sinhalese politeness ensures that the host is not embarrassed by a request which cannot be granted. The Sinhalese villager visiting his landlord for the purpose of obtaining a little rice will not ask for it until he is sure that the landlord is in a position to grant it to him. He takes time to survey the situation by merely stating that his visit was just informal. There is another custom which fortunately prevails in our villages even today which shows how etiquette had a utilitarian basis in our culture. The guest in a Sinhalese home is invited to join the host at the meal by the presentation of a bowl of water. Though its significance is that the host desires the company of the guest at the meal, the symbolic invitation is made to serve a useful purpose in washing hands and the betel stained mouth.

These and many other aspects of the traditional culture of the Sinhalese, as represented by the folklore, have not received the attention they deserve either in Ceylon or abroad. The main reason, I feel, is that their value in the interpretation of our culture was not well understood in responsible quarters. This state of affairs may be common to all countries of South and South East Asia.

A valuable service which can be rendered by the Institute of Traditional Cultures is to undertake intensive research into the folklore of this region. In my opinion this project should be executed in two stages. Firstly, there should be a national project to encourage the collection of the beliefs, the customs and the superstitions of the people. The compiling of an authoritative and authentic anthology will not

prove an easy task. With the growth of urban life, the custodians of folklore are being relegated to the villages which too are now being rapidly urbanized. Even here it is only the people of a dying generation who can help these collectors. Patient and tedious hours of work alone can ensure a satisfactory record of at least the salient features of the folklore of each country. Besides the collectors who will record such material as is directly available from the people, there should be trained social anthropologists who will unravel the hidden traces of ancient folklore in the pattern of life of the community. Their task will be to look for survivals from the folk-culture and analyse these traits which are being modified at a rapid pace owing to external influences.

Once this work is successfully accomplished by each nation, a trained body of international scholars, either individually or in groups, should analyse the data available with a view to understanding the similarities and the causes thereof, the developments pertaining to each country and the direction of borrowing or influence if any. I need not over-emphasize the benefits that would accrue to this region of the world by such a project. May I, however, state that the study of the folklore of this region will be the most useful contribution towards the understanding of the traditional culture of this culturally and socially important part of the world.

Of equal importance with folklore, for the evaluation of the traditional culture of a nation, are her music and dance. These arts represent the aesthetic refinement of the people, and are therefore very helpful in assessing the creative powers of the community in general. In Ceylon the tradition of music and dance has been extant through a period of over twenty-five centuries. The legends connected with Rāvana attribute to Ceylon the invention of the violin with the bow. Again the stories about the coming of Vijaya, tell us of a wedding ceremony of the Yakṣas, wherein music and dance played a prominent part in the entertainment of the guests. Coming to historical times we hear of music of the royal courts and of the folk songs of the people. To a village damsel collecting firewood is attributed a song on the futility of life, which is said to have enabled not less than 60 monks to attain the highest goal of spiritual endeavour.

It is difficult to trace the development of music and dance in Ceylon in so short a paper as this. May I, however, draw your attention to the fact that the people in Ceylon, like their neighbours, made use of music not only to entertain but also to make their toils of life less wearisome. Thus folk songs of Ceylon spring from various occupations of the people. The carter's song is designed to beguile the tedium of a long journey in the hours of darkness. The farmer ploughing his field, sowing seed or transplanting the seedlings sang songs to relieve his drudgery as well as to instil a rhythm into his actions. The lone watcher over his Chena, sang songs to keep himself company, to prevent himself from falling asleep and in the hope that the sound of the human voice would keep away animals.

The woman who transplants paddy or helps her husband to gather the season's harvest similarly sings songs of joy not only to relieve the monotony of daily work, but also to express the thrills and pleasures she extracts from life. When the emotions were too much for the songs alone they express their joy through rhythmic movements of their body. Groups of women with pitchers in hand would dance in circles, and sing lilting songs. The men folk similarly had their own forms of dance. There were the martial dances, which emphasise the strength and virility of youth, and the quieter and more dignified forms of dance which were offered as pious tributes in the temple to their religious Teacher. We of modern Ceylon have inherited these age-old traditions in dance and music and are faced with a number of problems which I am sure are not peculiar to us.

First and foremost, the question arises whether these forms of art in spite of their inadequacies are to be promoted as our one and only cultural heritage to the exclusion of more refined and better developed techniques which are available for easy borrowing. Or else, are we to preserve these arts as purely historical curiosities and forge ahead to create something anew? An answer to either of these questions, I admit, is not easy to attempt. Those of us who abandon these traditional arts as ill-developed and look for inspiration specially from our great neighbour India, have achieved virtually very little, for the simple reason that we have ended as slavish imitators of the more popular but less artistic forms of entertainment. The emphasis on cheap entertainment has been

detrimental not only to the growth of our own traditions in music and dance but also to the appreciation of the real artistic achievements of India. On the other hand, there were others who, in the guise of preserving the original forms and techniques, killed all incentive for creation and removed the traditional dance and music of Ceylon to a plane where they were merely worthless museum pieces.

An intelligent solution to these problems should be attempted as soon as possible, that is, before the cheap imitations overwhelm them or before the people lose interest in them. In this I see another project which can be considered by the Institute of Traditional Cultures. Let a thorough study be made of the traditions with a view to finding out the degree to which they can contribute towards future development. There is no doubt that the ancient tradition should be made to live so that their vigour and vitality would contribute to the creation of newer forms and techniques. This is the only means by which a truly national system of music and dance depicting in full the artistic capacity of the living nation can be formulated.

An approach in this direction may be made firstly by seeking inspiration in folk music and folk dance. Sinhalese folk music is rich in rhythmic patterns though monotonous in melodic structure, while the folk dance is characterized by lively and vigorous movement. Though there is no Sinhalese music that can be described as absolute music, that is music that exists for its own sake, such as say, a fugue of Bach, there is no dearth of programme music, that is music that conveys a meaning by its rhythm and melody. Thus the Vannams or dance songs designed to express characteristics of birds and beasts, are fine pieces of programme music. But most of our modern exponents of music seriously doubt the possibility of developing a style of music based on our folk song. A careful observer will nevertheless note that the springs of our folk music are still flowing, but they have not been tapped. The words of the folk song could be set to different and new music. Higher forms develop from lower forms.

Based on the folk traditions and urged by the artistic refinement of the age, we should be able to evolve more satisfying forms of music and dance which will bear the

imprint of a genuine indigenous production. How the Institute could sponsor this project is a matter to be investigated by a body of specialists from countries which are experiencing this particular cultural crisis. I have no doubt that at least Burma, Thailand, and Indonesia would desire to explore the possibilities of reviving the ancient tradition of music and dance in their countries while not sacrificing their creative talent to the stultifying effects of tradition.

Mr. M. D. Raghavan: Referred to the Paddy Lands Act and pointed out that collectivization has an adverse effect on ceremonies connected with agricultural operations in Ceylon. A good number of folk ceremonies run the risk of being gradually abandoned. Fortunately some of these have been studied in recent years. Individual ownership is undergoing considerable change now.

Ceylon is rich in folk music more pleasing than what is given in performances and broadcasts influenced by modern trends. Tradition in music and dance existed as early as 543 B.C. Kandyan music and dance have been traced to the Kolombo Kankainiya. Every God has his own dance, rather difficult to appreciate for strangers.

Mr. Jayawardhana has given an overall picture of the Traditional Culture of Ceylon, pointing out the wealth of achievement during the 2500 years of Sinhalese monarchy. In passing he has referred to the impact of European influences on the life of the people.

The problems that he has specifically brought forward cover the three fields of Folklore, Music and the Dance. It will further the cause of these traditional cultural fields, if this seminar will take decisions that will help Ceylon and other countries of South East Asia to formulate definite plans to foster and promote these vital spheres of traditional cultures.

There is an example of a Folklore Society in Colombo started under private auspices by a few enthusiasts. It did good work for the first few years, but almost ceased to function and even to exist for lack of co-operation and organization.

Mr. Fernando: Most people in Ceylon, particularly paddy land owners, are inclined to believe that the Paddy Lands Act will bring about the slow death of folklore, music and dance, but I doubt this. It brings a better share to the

cultivator, and the Act is going to do some good rather than harm. There is another important problem with regard to paddy cultivation. It is closely related to the Paddy Lands Act. We are using tractors. Before the introduction of tractors people used to sing in the fields at the time of transplanting and reaping paddy. The introduction of tractors decreases the chances of singing. These are the dangers of civilization, so to say. Something must be done to safeguard the folk songs.

Dr. Sutjipto: I am interested in the songs connected with the cultivation of paddy. The paddy songs in Indonesia and Java have been influenced by the Portuguese and the Dutch.

Dr. N. S. Junankar: They do not seem to be.

Mr. Sastri: Folk songs cannot be imposed.

Dr. Versluys: I would like to invite attention to the research that is required on the real role of folklore, dance, music, etc., because I think this is one of the main points we should like to know. What is the living part of folk arts in the society of today? How far do they form a real and essential part of life? I am referring to the social aspect of art which is no less important than its aesthetic aspect. One of the tasks of the Institute of Traditional Cultures here is to carry out research, although it may not yet be in a position to do so. Yet I believe it would be possible to use the intermediary of this Institute to carry out research, namely by approaching students of Anthropology in various universities asking them to include in their studies of the Asian region a few questions regarding the role of folk art, music, etc., in these societies. It would help the purpose of the Institute and of the study in which this Seminar is mostly interested. Questions should be framed in such a way as to cover some important issues, without going into great detail.

Chairman: The suggestion may be given in the form of a resolution.

Dr. Junankar: The question of traditional cultures is a complex one. It is a question of folk arts, folk music etc., and of living values. Their study will enable us to find what is the internal relation between the various traditional cultures in this region. Secondly, what is the result of the impact of extraneous values on certain centres which are prominent in our country's development. We must find

out the important problems and promote their study by experts.

Dr. Ehrenfels: This stress laid on the artistic quality of folk art and its sociological importance as a stabilizing factor holds good not only in the relations between the farmer and middle classes of one and the same "ethnic group" but also in the relations between plainspeople and highlanders who, as "tribals", are ethnically different from the ruling races especially in Assam, Burma, Siam, Indonesia and also elsewhere in South East Asia.

Stress on the study of, and support for, tribal cultures should therefore be laid especially in South East Asia, and vocational schools in "tribal" crafts, arts, lore and religion opened for the Highlanders—the "tribal" groups of people in the South East Asia area.

Then Mr. Mohammad Dahlan Mansoer read his paper:

SOME ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL CULTURE IN INDONESIA

by

D R S. M. D. MANSOER

I. INTRODUCTION

THE pattern of our culture is many-sided and has as many facets as the numerous islands, big and small, that constitute the Republic of Indonesia. This pattern is clearly formulated in the device of our country: "Binneka Tunggal Ika", which means: "Unity through diversity", a phrase taken from the 13th century epic Sutasoma. Thus it obviously indicates that seven centuries ago our ancestors already considered the truth of the above cited saying concerning the nature and the culture of the realm of islands, that make our country.

Even within the boundaries of an island one may come across such a great diversity between the existing cultures, that one wonders if there is a common feature to be traced in all this unevenness. Quite different these cultures may seem at first sight, nevertheless one will soon find out that there is a common basic foundation which underlies them.

We Indonesians are very tolerant by nature in religious as well as in political matters. In one family for instance one member may be a very devout Muslim, whilst another a pious Roman Catholic or Protestant. The father may be a member of the P.N.I. (Indonesian Nationalist Party), the mother an adherent of the Nahdatul Ulama (the biggest Moslem Party in Indonesia now) and the son a fervent member of the P.K.I. (Indonesian Communist Party). So Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Confucianists etc., can live peacefully side by side, each section fulfilling its daily religious duties without taking offence at one another's belief. Combating political parties can have their members in the same house where they sit peacefully and enjoy the same meal. We in our history do not have evidence of such cruel wars due to religious belief as e.g., the 30 years' war in Europe in the 17th century or the grim fightings between Hindus and Muslims in India during the reign of Aurangzeb.

The belief in one God, it does not matter by which name one may call Him and how one worships the Supreme Being, is one of the basic thoughts of our state-philosophy, called the *Pañcha Sila*. Hence the numerous political parties that Indonesia now has within its borders can exist side by side without combating each other as traditionally happened in other countries. They live and work peacefully together and it is not something strange if an Indonesian Communist performs religious duties as a Muslim. Indonesians are not fanatic Muslims or fanatic adherents of one or another political party. Indonesians are just as simple and as plain as one can think a human being could be.

2. SUMATRA (*Minangkabau*)

One of the greatest and most fertile islands in the western part of our country, which shows a great diversity in its cultural pattern, is Sumatra, a huge and vast piece of land, more than 3 (three) times as big as Java, but with only 1/5 of its population. About a year ago geographically this big island was divided into three provinces, namely North, Central, and South-Sumatra. But recently Central-Sumatra has comprised three autonomous parts, one of which is called West-Sumatra or Minangkabau: "The Land of the Victorious Water-Buffaloes". Minangkabau can be divided into two parts: The Lower Country, the Coastal Regions, sometimes also called the Dependencies of Minangkabau Proper. Minangkabau Proper is the mountainous part of West-Sumatra, and in dealing with Minangkabau it is just this part of Central-Sumatra that one has to bear in one's mind.

3. CONTACT WITH SOUTH INDIA

From the earliest times of its history there are evidences of many contacts between Central-Sumatra and India, particularly with the southern part of it. This has been stated for instance by the Dutch scholar, Dr. Krom, in his book entitled: "Hindu-Javanese History"; he proposed the idea, based on a rock-inscription with South Indian script in the heart of

Minangkabau, "that there might be an important South Indian element among the subjects of king Adityavaraman", the greatest non-Islamic king of this region in the 14th century.

Even today the coastal region especially, for instance Padang and Pariaman, the capital town of Minangkabau now and its oldest sea-port in history, shows evidences of regular connections between this region and South India. In the vicinity of Padang one still can see people with obviously conspicuous Indian (so non-Indonesian) features: black skin, black curly hair, protruding nose etc. They earn their living from sea-fisheries and cattle-breeding, are very good Muslims, use the Minangkabau language as their mother-tongue, are submitting to the regional customary (*adat*) law and considering themselves as good children from Minangkabau and Indonesians as the indigenous populations. They will conceive it as a big personal insult if not regarded as good Minangkabaus.

4. THE ADAT (*Customary-Law*)

People from Minangkabau like to look at their country as the land that the adat has as its fortress. This adat: "will not moulder by rain and will not peel by heat". So the adat is unchangeable and will last for eternity. But like so many of human creations in the practice of life, however, the adat is not as stiff and stark as the quoted adat-saying should suggest. The adat is always open to alterations, because another saying runs: "On its becoming old one should replace it, good rules should be used and modified to meet the circumstances favourably, and bad ones should be abolished." That of course makes out that the adat always remains new, because of its flexibility and potentiality to incorporate new ideas. These deviations in the adat, however, happen gradually, indeed very slowly, so that they are hardly recognized by the members of the community.

Our main aim with this study is to trace the causes of these deviations in the adat.

5. INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY

A close and mutual relationship exists between an individual and other members of the community. Changes in a community, caused by direct or indirect contact with the outer world or as a result of a pressure from outside, have their consequences for the individual member of that community. On the other hand, changes in the mind or attitude of the members of a community, as a result of experience of the outer world or of the interaction with other people, will at the end influence the community as a whole.

Two kinds of powers from outside the country have deeply carved and caused big changes in the community in this Land of the Victorious Water-buffaloes. These powers are firstly: "Islam" and secondly: what is called: "The Western Impact".

6. THE EFFECT OF ISLAM

The Islamic religion with which Minangkabau made its first acquaintance was not the Pure Learning of the Prophet directly from Arabia, but the Shiitic sect, a syncretism from Persia and South India, brought to these regions by traders. The practices and leanings of this new belief were not quite new to the people of Minangkabau, but had quite a number of familiar features in it. In general, they went on quite smoothly throughout Indonesia. On the contrary, in Minangkabau, a firm interrelationship gradually came into being between adat and religion, which can be proved by the following saying:

"The adat is based on the Sjaria (Koranic-law)"

"The Sjaria is based on the adat"

A tied and strong interrelationship between adat and the Islam characterizes the culture of Minangkabau. It went even so far that the village priest became an important member of the local authorities along with the head of the adat, the ninik-mamaq (uncles from the maternal-line).

7. GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM

During the old governmental system in Minangkabau the ruling power was in the hands of three high representatives, called:

1. the Radjo Adat (King or head of the adat affairs),
2. the Radjo Ibadat (King or head of the religious affairs),
3. The Radjo Alam (King of the world).

Important decisions could only be taken by the full consent of these three high officials and these decisions must be taken in a gathering attended by the representatives of parts of the country that together form a kind of a federation. Each federation was a kind of an autonomous republic, with its own territories, laws and population. Each "republic" consisted of several autonomous villages, with their own authorities. This authority was composed out of:

1. the ninik-mamaqs who are charged with the adat affairs;
2. the alim ulama, who are charged with the religious affairs and
3. the tjerdkik pandai (the scholars) who are the advisers.

Up to now every Minangkabau village contains these three elements and they form the pillars of each community. The Radjo Adat, Radjo Ibadat and Radjo Alam who had their headquarters in the vicinity of Batusangkar, in the heart of Minangkabau Proper, do not exist any more. They were hereditary functionaries and had been ignored by the Dutch when they came as the victorious party out of the civil war that had torn Minangkabau in the first decades of the 19th century.

8. HEREDITARY LAW

Though it is emphatically supposed that in Minangkabau:

"The adat is based upon the Sjaria and

"The Sjaria has the adat as its basis",

and it is suggested that there is a harmonious interrelation between adat and Koranic law, the customary law in fact is not always congruent with the Sjaria. Adat is a whole code of unwritten law, but from every member of the adat community it is expected that he should know and obey it and all his behaviour should be in keeping with it. By disobeying

the adat one may be excluded from the community of which one is a member, and this is the most severe punishment one can undergo. There is no greater insult to an individual as well as to his family than to be accused of being ignorant in adat-matters.

The Minangkabau customary law is a very unique one. According to it a family has not the same sense as it has to Westerners. A family in Minangkabau is not a group of people allied to each other by ties of blood, consisting of father, mother and children; but it consists of mother, brothers and sisters, mother's brothers and sisters, mother's mother and her brothers and sisters, mother's sisters' children, the children of one's sisters etc. Mother's eldest brother or mother's mother's eldest brother is the head of the family. Father is only a guest in mother's house, which is a family-house. According to the adat "a son-in-law is like ashes on a stove" and it is clear that he has no roots in his wife's house. A Minangkabau boy or girl gets his family-name from the mother's side. This has of course its consequences in the hereditary law. Consequently, the children are not their father's heirs and at father's death his sister's children (nephews) are the heirs at law. The widow and her fatherless children can do nothing, they are at the mercy of father's nephew(s). These children have uncle(s), mother's brother(s) of course and they are their lawful heirs. This kind of heritage law, it is obvious enough, is in flagrant contradiction with the Koranic law, which stated that only the son(s) is (are) the heir(s) at law at father's death.

Minangkabau waged a civil war at the beginning of the 19th century to bring the heritage-law into accord with the Koranic-law, much blood had been shed, many lives sacrificed, much grief and sorrow spread, all in vain; up to this day the heritage-law is still as it was before the civil war. However, I willingly admit, the assault on this adat-fortress resulting from Western education and Western ways of living in the last two or three decades has brought some changes in it. In the cities especially, far from Minangkabau, at Java for instance, one is not so tied to the adat, but these are quite stray facts and as a whole it can be stated that in Minangkabau Proper the adat and the heritage-law stand as firm as ever, in spite of sputniks and guided missiles.

9. THE PADRI WAR (1822-1837)

At the beginning of the 19th century a new religious movement had its entrance in Minangkabau and stirred the whole country. This new Islamic sect strove to free Islam from everything that was considered not in keeping with the True Learning of the Prophet. The fanatic adherents of this new movement at the end met with a strong opposition from the old fashioned alim-ulama groups, which got the full assistance of the ninik-mamaqs. They saw their position endangered by this new sect, because in a community ruled in accordance with the sjaria there was no room for the ninik-mamaqs any more. This new movement could rely upon the support of the youth, which is always open to new ideas and so broke out the civil-war in Minangkabau, lasting from 1822-1837; in history books it is usually mentioned as the Padri War.

The ninik-mamaq and Shiitic ulama groups very soon lost their influence and turned for assistance to the Dutch, who had a stronghold in Padang since 1667. This war, started with the aim of harmonizing the traditional law with the Koranic-law, ended in establishing the Dutch supremacy in Central-Sumatra. And with the Dutch victory gained, the Western impact gained its entrance in this part of Sumatra.

10. THE WESTERN IMPACT AND ITS EFFECT

The Dutch fortunately seized with both hands the opportunity to plant their influence in Central-Sumatra. For Raffles had laid his hand upon Singapore on the other side of the sea adjoining Central-Sumatra, and the Dutch were afraid of further English enterprises in the mainland of Central-Sumatra. And so began the first steps in the Western impact in "the Land of the Victorious Water-buffaloes". This impact, reaching its culmination at the beginning of the 20th century, is very complicated in nature. It means the presence of Western administration, Western enterprises, Western educational systems, the introduction of money economy even to the remotest villages, in short: "the penetrating of Western ideas and attitude". As the task of schools is to broaden one's mind and as much as possible break down any kind of

isolation, schools therefore open up the mind, making it receptive to new ideas and intellectual currents from outside.

This contact with the West by intermediary of schools, movies, newspapers, personal contacts, radios, books etc., gradually caused an economic, intellectual, spiritual and social revolution in every Indonesian community, Minangkabau not excluded. This is the source of the spiritual loss of balance, the greatest problem we have to face now in our country. The old values have for the majority no longer their previous significance, the old and the new still exist side by side, but a new and a harmonious culture has still to come into being. The tremendous jerks Indonesia has undergone from the beginning of the Japanese occupation and especially the years after the national revolution, have not yet come to an end. Indonesia has not yet found itself again in this many-sided and complicated struggle to gain its full independence.

The educational system in the colonial days bore a Western character and produced a great number of "half-intellectuals", non-Indonesian but also non-European in nature. These "colonial products" were becoming more and more strangers to their own culture and community, but were not accepted as full members of the Western community in their own country. They were very troubled with inferiority complexes, feeling a kind of enmity against many elements of their own culture inheritance and at the same time over-estimating the Western culture. While the old social forms began to decay, the new ones which are supposed to replace the old remained strange and queer. This was the picture of the cultural pattern of Indonesia in general and that of Minangkabau in particular in the pre-war period, a gloomy picture indeed.

II. OUR PROBLEMS

To gain strength and to get more self-confidence, both badly needed by our nation in facing the numerous difficulties in political, economical as well as social fields, we are now industriously studying and lecturing on our history and culture. More than anybody we do know that our governmental and

law systems should be fully national and living. They must have their roots in our history, and be based on traditional culture. This is the reason why adat law and national history are at present compulsory studies at the Faculties of Law and Literature. Great stress is laid upon the national history in every kind of our schools. Courses in history are founded in the main cities, where teachers are upgraded to become qualified to teach the national history. But the books we have now concerning these matters are mostly written by pre-war Dutch scholars with a colonial point of view and are, hence, out of date. While good books in the Indonesian language are still not available, our scholars and lecturers in history and culture are too few in number and are in charge of more than one faculty in several places, the progress is very slow. Studies on History and Culture are not in vogue among the younger generation, who consider these subjects as dull and holding no great economical prospects before them. Good lecturers and books are lacking, there are too few devoted field-workers to explore the tremendous and rich field of our history and culture. Not only the outer world but even we ourselves, Indonesians, do not have any idea of the richness of our own history and culture.

With the modest strength and very limited man-power we do now have at our disposal, we, anyhow, try to attain the biggest profit: the few who are interested in their own history and culture, are not only lecturing, studying, doing the research work, publishing etc., but are also doing some other work besides, for instance administrative office work.

Dr. K. K. Pillay: You say there is not adequate encouragement for the study of history and culture, and that there are only a few in the country who are competent. The educational authorities are responsible for getting qualified and competent persons.

Mr. Mansoer: The Ministry of Education has set up courses in the University of Indonesia and there are about 300 students who would be qualified to teach in the secondary schools. The text books in history are Dutch books.

Dr. Pillai: Any research work being done?

Mr. Mansoer: Not yet. We are upgrading teachers now.

Dr. Ehrenfels: Apart from teaching and research, the paper raises the question of the adaptability of social laws to modern

conditions. This issue is not confined to Sumatra, but applies to all parts of the world outside—for instance Assam or South India with which I am familiar. In many places the old dress is abolished; the people in Burma take to western dress and methods. I would like to know whether the study of such problems on the part of our Institute will be fruitful.

Dr. Versluys: I should like to know how the relationship between the Javanese settlers and the original population has developed. Have there not been some tensions between the Minangkabaus and the Javanese settlers? And how were the relations between these and the inhabitants of South-Sumatra?

Mr. Mansoer: There was little connection between the Javanese and the Minangkabaus, as the colonization areas there were few. In South-Sumatra some difficulties have been experienced, but in other cases little contact was possible as the settlers lived in uninhabited areas.

Dr. Raghavan: Don't you contemplate codifying customary law?

Mr. Mansoer: It is not written law. Every member is expected to act according to law.

Dr. Ehrenfels: Customary law and traditional law may be actually more progressive or more suitable to modern trends. I think this is a very important problem which can be discussed in our seminar. We shall consider the utilization or accommodation of customary or traditional law; which is preferred—matrilineal or patrilineal society? Should we not consider even on a larger scale the application of traditional law and culture instead of mechanically rejecting the one to suit modern trends.

Dr. Raghavan: I would like to know whether the customary law has been codified in Indonesia.

Mr. Mansoer: It is in the minds of the people.

Dr. Versluys: Customary law in Indonesia, the so-called adat law, was not codified. It was purposely not done in order to allow for the gradual changes as required.

Dr. Raghavan: I would like to know whether the judiciary has any hand in the application of customary law.

Mr. Mansoer: No.

Dr. Raghavan: In one of the Seminars held by the Institute, the Director wanted that before commissions like the Law Commission are set up by the government, there should be

adequate understanding of the sociology and significance of customary law which they seek to codify or modify.

Mr. Sastri: Certainly, it is up to the seminar to make general recommendations on how traditional laws should be treated in future.

Mr. Amar Nath Sehgal then read his paper:

ARTS IN RURAL INDIA

by

AMAR NATH SEHGAL

SINCE times immemorial man has indulged in creative arts for the expression of his thoughts, feelings and emotions. Language was not well developed, art served as a vehicle of communication as well as expression. When people found language inadequate for the expression of their thoughts, feelings and emotions in words, they developed gestures and art symbols, which later on played an important role in their lives. Even if people could communicate in language, still a fraction of emotions and sensations could not find an adequate expression in words. Thus the unexpressed lies disappointed and disgruntled for the mere fact of remaining under the surface. The joy and happiness of life comes when the wholesome feelings emerging from the conscious or unconscious find a legitimate expression, and this is only possible through the creative arts which enable us to know the truth about ourselves and about life in general.

People in rural India developed arts like Alpona, Rangoli as well as folk dances, dramas, plays, folk music, etc., to provide an opportunity for a creative release of the surplus human energy.

Our ancestors recognized the role and value of these activities and extended patronage which stabilized the arts. Greatest amongst those who saw the need for the promotion of the arts along with material advancement was Asoka under whose emblem the business of our Government is conducted. Slowly and steadily interest in the creative arts diminished with the result that a decadence set in.

It is indeed a tragedy that our planners have not yet been able to assess the need for the revival and propagation of the arts. Many of them argue that when the country is faced with so many economic and industrial problems, there is no need to waste energies or resources on such activities. Does this mean that food, housing and removal of poverty are the only needs of the day, and arts, for the moment, can be placed in cold storage? With due respect to many of these critics,

I can only say that importance needs be given to the claims of the 'Mind' as well as the 'Body'. While designing any of the plans meant for our national reconstruction, we ought not to ignore the need for arts and aesthetics. In this paper I have endeavoured to explain the dire need for the revival and propagation of the arts in rural India and what developmental activities have so far been taken up in such environments.

On October 2, 1952, we launched an intensive programme for the economic and social development of communities living in India's 558,000 villages. This programme aimed at dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge, education and cultural uplift of more than 275 million villagers through trained personnel.

The work pertaining to Community Development means team work. The village development staff consisting of Block Development Officer, Social Education Organizer, Extension Officers for Agriculture, Industries, Health, etc., and the Village Level Worker along with the officers of the State and the Centre exert themselves specifically to find how best to help the villager to improve his lot. The Block staff are the most important members of the team. The whole organization at the level of the Block, State and Centre is geared to facilitate the flow of supplies, equipment, finance, dissemination of knowledge, etc., etc.

The work of Community Development was initiated to achieve the following objectives:

1. To bring to the farmer the knowledge and necessary guidance to enable him to farm more efficiently and thus increase his income;
2. To encourage the farmer to live well;
3. To help the farmer and his family appreciate the opportunities, beauties and privileges of the country's life and to know something about the world in which he lives;
4. To promote the cultural, social and recreational life of the rural people;
5. To afford opportunities to the rural population to develop their native talents through work of their choice, recreation and social life; and
6. To develop amongst the villagers a pride for occupation, a sense of good citizenship, spirit of efficiency and a love of home and country.

The team of workers conducting the work of Community Development are thus trained at the various training centres, i.e., Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Block Development Officers' Training Centre and Extension Training Centre. It is at these centres that the personnel learns the various programmes and drives meant for the welfare of the rural communities which are later organized and conducted by them in the areas which they go to serve. For our purpose, the Social Education Organizers are the functionaries for eliciting public cooperation, preparing the ground for technical extension, cultural and educational work among the rural population. Now these functionaries are to work in a Block comprising about a hundred villages or so, and through the help of the village panchayat they try to get all assistance in creating an atmosphere for public cooperation in the assigned work. It has often been noticed that these functionaries mostly concentrate on road building, literacy campaign, rural hygiene and sanitation. Recreational activities are conducted by them for the entertainment of the village folks. Some of the important functions entrusted to these workers are:

1. Literacy classes for men and women,
2. Organizing community centres and reading rooms,
3. Recreational programmes,
4. Children's clubs,
5. Industrial centres for sewing, embroidery, etc.,
6. Wall newspaper,
7. Observance of festivals on important National days,
8. Cleanliness and sanitation,
9. Road construction, etc.

Thus in all this welfare work the Social Education Organizers are supposed to devote the maximum energy to cleanliness drives, sanitation and road construction. It is imperative that the village environments must be clean so as to minimize the spread of diseases which often take a heavy toll of human lives. Roads are also their greatest need since these provide a communicative link between the rural and urban environments. The free flow of ideas through these fast developing roads has somehow shattered the village economy. Also the villagers have slowly begun to accept the urban outlook and thus shun their own cultural heritage. They have begun to

show some interest in seeing movies at the nearby towns which provide an easy entertainment and thus neglect their own folk songs, dramas and plays and other art activities prevalent in their own rustic environments.

I wanted to give this picture of the Community Development work in which the role and values of art are not fully made use of. The new concept of social education is that it is a comprehensive programme of community uplift through community action. In this overall context it is education for life, and deals with every aspect of life where education is needed for its betterment. In this programme of social education, the villagers are made to shun their doubts and come forward to accept help and assistance for their own welfare work, for the betterment of agriculture, village industries, sanitation, health, village improvements and all educational aspects; and more than that in the social education programme a good deal of effort is spent in the removal of illiteracy through organizing literacy classes and post-literacy work. It is true literacy has a very important role to play in rural India, though a great deal of response has yet to come forth to this literacy programme. In the initial stages people showed enthusiasm, but soon their interest dwindled. Full motivation is somehow not elicited from the people's side. Well, it is out of the purview of this paper to go into the merits and demerits of the literacy campaign. Nevertheless, it is clear that a great deal of emphasis has been placed on such drives which have not borne substantial results. In all these endeavours it will be seen that very little is being done for the rural arts. There is no properly organized plan yet formulated to give due importance to this field of human activity. I have no doubt that if we can encourage our people to take to creative pursuits, we shall soon find many a genius amongst them. Of course, the record of Ajanta and Ellora may not be equalled, but I am sure some worthwhile creations will come forth. Our tragedy has been that we have shown contentment and pride in the richness of our artistic heritage without making adequate efforts to add to it.

Going through the countryside, we find some of the villagers still practise Alpona or Rangoli which is mainly designing in coloured powder or white chalk on the mud walls, floors, entrances and exits of their dwellings. Such designs and

symbols are executed by the people at the time of marriages, during religious festivals and other community functions. These designs have religious and magical significance. The evil spirits, they believe, are thus kept away. The various unfulfilled wishes are also to be fulfilled through the ritual of such executions. Such designs have been said to have originated at a time when the Gopis were separated from Krishṇa, and they indulged in utilizing their time by drawing coloured patterns on the ground. Another interesting legend in this regard is that Lakshmaṇa drew around Sītā's hut a circular line which was supposed to have magical properties to keep her safe within the circle. This he did at the time when he looked for Rāma in the nearby forests.

Women indulge in such performances and make suitable patterns and designs on appropriate occasions. Thus the tradition has been handed down from mother to daughter. This creative art has been in vogue since ages, and is still practised in many parts of India. This art should evoke interest amongst academicians. It has already been able to create a lot of interest amongst designers of all kinds. Such art expressions not only beautify the surroundings but also create healthier environments. People will come forward to clean their walls and dwellings and floors to make such coloured patterns. The sanitation drives will thus become more effective.

The village potter still carries on his designing for utility as well as aesthetic ends. Villagers are mostly dependent on the creations of their potter who lives and trades in the immediate environment. It is true that his conditions and techniques of work are still primitive, but at the same time his designing and ideas about decoration are in conformity with the traditional symbols prevalent in the area. These provide aesthetic enjoyment to his community. Similarly, many other craftsmen who work in metal, ivory, bamboo, pith, etc. do design their work in a traditional manner, and it is a happy sign that many of their designs are finding a good market in towns as well as in the western countries. Of course, their designs are corrupted through foreign influences killing their rusticity, simplicity and truthfulness for which these workers have been famous.

We must, however, keep in view that these traditional workers carry on their designs and techniques inherited from

their great grand-fathers. Originality and individual expression is the dire need for such workmanship. Art expression should not be repetitive and monotonous. The same design and carving done for years will evoke an aesthetic appeal among the spectators even though it may not be full of the exuberance and vitality which should characterize all art expressions.

Similarly, folk dances, folk dramas, and folk songs need to be encouraged in the rural environments. Folk dances have been prevalent in many areas and conspicuous forms of such dances in regard to beat and rhythm have been in vogue since ages. Folk dances provide excellent media for giving expression to the pent up energies and emotions of the people and provide them with the necessary relaxation and amusement. Such dances are also organized at the time of festivals such as sowing, harvesting, and religious functions. These depict the faiths and beliefs of the people who still practise them.

Folk dramas are also practised in various places, but the traditional techniques are being neglected. Urban stage techniques are being introduced with screens, wings and costumes, thus ignoring the simplicity and sobriety of the traditional drama. Folk music also has regional peculiarities and many traditional musical instruments are becoming extinct. I think it will be a worthwhile attempt if folk dances, folk dramas and folk music are studied on a regional basis and the traditional techniques, styles and equipments are somehow propagated amongst the rural population. It is true that such dances, dramas, and musical performances need a certain orientation, but that should only be done through expert handling and with proper care, keeping in view the traditional simplicity, talents and the available materials. It is sad that the cinema and films are taking the place of these creative activities in which the villagers could function as active participants and not as passive spectators.

Puppetry is another art which has been neglected with the result that the master puppeteers (marionette or shadow puppeteers) are rarely seen. They are the people who used to be members of the community giving their displays and performances at festivals and other occasions but without proper support and encouragement they were forced to give up their trade and resort to other means of livelihood. Even

if one can trace some of these puppeteers in some of the remote places of Rajasthan or in the South, one finds the intrinsic depth of their talents unrivalled by their counterparts in the West. Such puppeteers must be brought to light and an organized effort made to locate them even from the far off places and enable them to provide guidance to the younger generation so as to have a continuity of this glorious art.

However, the rural arts can only be encouraged by proper planning and guidance being given to these activities not only in our planning at the national level but also through dissemination of knowledge about them through proper study and research. This study and research, of course, should be done for each of the activities on a region-wise basis but before such studies are taken up, it is imperative that the other media of amusement and recreation which are being propagated extensively need to be withdrawn almost immediately. Small booklets and pamphlets, and other literature, should also be brought out on rural arts to give people a chance to know of these activities.

Rural communities are almost identical, especially in the region of South-East Asia, and it is recommended that the arts of such communities be studied to evolve a uniform pattern of work. This should be done as early as possible. The economic drives are being conducted all over this region without a proper emphasis on this important aspect of human activity. This may prove to be disastrous for arts in time to come. Something needs to be done.

If a proper emphasis is placed on arts and aesthetics, we shall minimize, if not eradicate, many of the evils like fanaticism, language discord, etc. which often result in quarrels, hooliganism, rivalries and factions. All these have at the base a need to express, and this energy now being misused, can be channelized towards art expressions. Such endeavours will also enable the people to improve their appearance, their homes and their surroundings, thus enlarging their horizons and enriching their lives.

Mr. Mookerjee: I have been in the tribal areas for the last ten years, and I know that very few specimens of tribal arts and crafts are available. Take for instance the Muzars arts; they have got a few textiles. In Ceylon we have just a few wood carvings. Whatever crafts we get are done by the

tribals. Another example: the Bubil make potteries for their village people. Jewelleries are made by local jewellers. Folk arts are better preserved in tribal areas. We are making a survey.

Mr. Sehgal: There are a few tribal arts and they should not be compared with folk arts.

Mr. Mookerjee: No tribal art is for sale. They always make things for their own use and they last for two or three years.

Mr. Sehgal: The rural arts are coming into contact with the urban community and traditional arts are being affected.

Emphasis should be laid on preservation of arts as such and not on environments like rural or urban, for in the coming times the distinction between rural and urban will decrease with the extension of transport, electricity, radio etc.

Dr. Raghavan: I would like to draw attention to the art of Kôlam or Alpona. A good number of designs are found. There are anthropologists who are interested in collecting some of these designs as they have significance for the migration of peoples and cultures.

Mr. Mookerjee: There are several books on the subject (Kôlam or Alpona). One by Tagore is in Bengali. There are two other publications of Alponas. We have got a good library. In schools they teach it as part of drawing lessons.

Mr. Fernando: In any case, scholars may study them and add to the charm of relaxation.

Dr. Raghavan: We have been changing and in the face of these changes how can we expect the old arts and crafts to survive?

Mr. Fernando: In Ceylon there is Kandyan dance practised for so many years by regular classes of people. Some of them are skilled dancers. Folk dance needs to be preserved at all costs.

Dr. K. K. Pillay: As I said earlier, it is not every type of folk dance and drama that deserves encouragement. A thing is not great merely because it is old. Sentiment should not triumph over reason. There are some dances which are unbecoming of decent society. Competent but sympathetic men must judge and choose those which are worthy of encouragement. Of course, public bodies are not suited for this purpose. The people's own organizations can handle them.

It is idle to ignore that the cinema and the talkie have invaded the villages, too. Nor is it possible to dissuade people from patronizing the undesirable shows.

Perhaps competent critics of folk dance and folk song can exert their best efforts to include some of them in the cinemas. It is a delicate task, but it is worthwhile undertaking it. The cinema is an important agency which can be turned to advantage in encouraging several arts and crafts. The outlook of people, no less than their tastes, can be shaped to a certain extent through this agency.

Dr. Ehrenfels: All tribal arts are getting extinct. They are beautiful and original. They should be encouraged.

A sequence of practical proposals, which we have so far elaborated, seems to show that a fairly large number of traditional forms in art and crafts are by no means incompatible with modern technology. They are able to co-exist with technology as such, and even with its sociological implications. Traditional values of South East Asia would thus seem well able to survive and even gain momentum in the technologically changed circumstances of our time, *provided* there is encouragement on the part of leading *élite*.

Such leadership in both modern technological change, and its application to forms of traditional values, would amount to a give-and-take policy between traditional and modern forms of arts, crafts, customs and the day-to-day routine of life. The very suggestions, made so far in this seminar, go to prove that such a combination is possible. If this is true to say of the relations between different strata of society within one cultural unit, it is also applicable to the relations between plains-people and high-landers, literate and pre-literate, or, in other words, between "advanced" and "tribal" populations in any given region of the South East Asian area.

The decisive factor in all these cases is the example which leader-*élites* give, or fail to offer, to the people, thereby either destroying or promoting new life impulses for practising traditional forms of culture and keeping their values alive.

Two aspects of this example-setting have greater power than is generally realized: forms of clothing and of furnishing one's home. The patterns used in these respects by the higher, middle, and finally working-classes in turns of imitation, determine the life rhythm of the people. Daily routine

generally, and clothing, furniture etc. in particular, are looked upon as trivial, vulgar and too irrelevant to the expression of higher feelings, to be at all within the framework of a serious discussion on cultural values.

However, closer scrutiny of the economic and aesthetical-hygienic effects which the use of European or semi-Europeanized all-covering cold-country clothing and corresponding forms of furniture do exercise on the forms of life and the expression of culture in tropical countries, shows that just these trivial "needs" have a big share in the average family budget and determine the aesthetic direction of the masses. The taboos on partial nakedness of the body, on traditional ways of eating, relaxing, and even religious worship, result in a splitting of the personality between office and road on the one side, as against home and place of worship on the other. Office and road hold the stronger position in the ensuing battle of the subconscious, and are likely to eliminate house and places of worship as culture-determinants with all their traditionally-oriented values;—unless they are re-inforced by the encouragement of an example-setting leadership of culture-conscious élites.

Such leadership has in fact been operating in our area. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Mahātmā Gandhi's personal ways of clothing, sitting, eating, lecturing and praying did more for the resurgence of Indian traditional arts and crafts, which we in India have been witnessing during the last 20 or 30 years, than crores of rupees, spent on conferences, meetings, scholarships, exhibitions and aids to home industries, could have done.

This seminar is neither in a position to command "Māhātmā Gandhis" in or outside India to make their appearance, nor perhaps even to remember the one better, and more adequately, whom we have had in this country. But it is within the scope of this seminar to point out how great a role the basic forms of cultural behaviour patterns exercise on their more complex aspects such as music, architecture, painting, dancing, and a host of crafts, woven round these forms of art.

The mere realization of the formative power which clothing—relaxing—and kindred behaviour patterns exercise on all aesthetic endeavour, would already go a long way to open the

door for the resurgence of traditional culture and traditional art, which in fact seems to be almost "in the air," or to wait only for just the opportunity to express itself adequately.

Afternoon Session: 3.00 p.m.

The session began with Dr. Raghavan reading his paper:

VEDIC CHANTING; MUSIC, DANCE AND DRAMA

by

DR. RAGHAVAN

Prof. of Sanskrit, Madras University

I HAVE been asked to deal with four subjects, Vedic chanting, and three related ones—Music, Dance and Drama.

I. *Vedic Chanting*: On this, there is a detailed seminar-paper of mine published in the first issue of the Bulletin of this Institute. The materials and resources of this and its philosophical, aesthetic and general cultural importance have been set forth by me in that paper. I would like you to note particularly the testimony of some modern European and Indian scholars which I have quoted there to show how even in literary and linguistic research, the written manuscript tradition of the Vedas requires to be supplemented by the living oral tradition. As desired by the Director, I shall confine myself on this occasion to pointing out certain concrete steps that might be taken.

Firstly, a country-wide survey of the Vedic *Śākhās* or schools still surviving must be made. The survey I have already given is based on what I took note of in my tour of the country as Member of the Government of India Sanskrit Commission, supplemented by other enquiries that I made from time to time. A systematic project should be undertaken to complete the survey of surviving Vedic *Śākhās* all over the country; a travel grant should be available for this; the work should be carried out through travel and actual visits and comprehensive questionnaire; along with the collection of data, specimens of different recitals should also be collected on tape-records. The more I enquire, the more is the information I receive. It is well-known that the only recension of the *Rigveda* known as current in all parts of India is the *Śaunakiya*; it has now come to my knowledge that there are followers of the *Bāshkala Śākhā* of this Veda in Assam.

Secondly: Through the All-India Radio, I have arranged for the tape-recording of Vedic recitals. The suggestion that

the whole of the *Rigveda* should be recorded came originally from Āchārya Vinoba Bhave. Sample recordings were collected by the AIR from all parts of India, but finally, owing to financial reasons, it has been resolved to record only some select hymns of the *Rigveda*, in two styles, at Poona (Bombay) and at Madras (South India). While even this meagre effort is something, I want to place before this Seminar this question: Is not the *Rigveda* the oldest and most extensive literature of the whole Indo-European world? Does it not represent a literature of high poetic quality? Is it not the bedrock of Indian culture, thought and history? In justice to all these aspects of the *Rigveda*, it is proper to record it in its entirety, deposit six or seven copies of the complete recording in the great libraries in different parts of the world, e.g., Library of Congress for U.S., British Museum for U.K., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for the Continent; Lenin Library, Moscow, for U.S.S.R., the AIR or National Museum, Delhi, and National Library, Calcutta, for India, and a library in Japan.

Thirdly: I desire to touch upon certain practical steps relating to the recording of the *Sāmaveda* which preserves the world's oldest form of music, and which is also the basic source of all later Indian music, singing and composition. I have already drawn attention to its international significance in my note on the parallels between the *Sāman* and the *Hebrew* chants. Owing to its greater relationship to music, the authorities of the AIR are agreeable to the recording of the entire *Sāmaveda*. If my proposals are accepted, the following steps may be taken: First to record the entire *Sāmaveda* according to the most widely current and best preserved *Kauthuma* recension as prevalent in South India; then to record samples of *Kauthuma* styles in other parts of the country and then to record longer portions of the *Jaiminiya* or *Talavākāra* recension as preserved, in Kerala and Tanjore District, in Tamil Nad; and lastly to make also sample recordings of the *Rāṇāyanīya* school preserved in some places in the North like Mathurā and Jaipur.

Fourthly: As the *Krishṇa Yajurveda* is most numerously represented among the Vaidiks and comparatively better preserved, only selections from it need be recorded. In the North, it is the *Śukla Yajus* that is most widely prevalent, but

as there is much difference in the styles of its recital in the North and South, *Sukla Yajus* must be recorded from both parts of the country.

Fifthly, about the *Atharvaveda*. From the sociological, historical, anthropological, technical and scientific points of view, the *Atharvan* is most interesting. Yet the *Atharvan* is the one Veda which is in the most pathetic condition. The only place in the whole of India where there are those who follow it as their own *Sākhā*, recite it authentically, and use it in their rites, is some villages in Gujarat. The urgent need is to get a few of these genuine surviving *Atharvavedins* to teach and train more members of this school who live in their neighbourhood or in other parts of the country. And before these few who now know the genuine *Atharvaveda* recital pass away, the portions preserved by them should all be recorded.

Sixthly: More than recording, the maintenance of a living oral tradition of all these schools of Vedic recitals is necessary. I would like to place before this Seminar some practical suggestions that we have made in the Sanskrit Commission's Report. In the South and the Deccan, and in the former especially, there are large numbers of experts in the recital of different schools of the Vedas; they are not economically well off; in fact, they represent some of the poorest folk of the land, and are carrying on under miserable living conditions. A plan should be adopted to utilize them for re-introducing and re-vitalising the oral tradition of these recitals in the several parts of North India where this tradition has disappeared. The previous Mahārāja of Darbhanga tried this for *Sāmaveda* in his part of the country, and now, a living tradition of *Sāman* chanting, taught by a *Sāma-śrautin* of Tamilnad, is maintained there. A further proposal that has also been made in this behalf is that in University Departments or Institutes, at least for those groups or projects of work devoted to Vedic studies or research, the representatives of the living oral tradition should also be utilized. Lastly, institutions or courses of study devoted to Sanskrit have, in many cases, sadly neglected the Vedas; adequate provision for the Vedic branch should be made in such institutions and courses of studies.

II. *Music, Dance, Drama*

In my paper on the arts, crafts and technical disciplines presented to the Madras University Seminar on Traditional Cultures (1956), I have touched upon the problems facing these arts in the modern set up of things. Also, in my address at the UNESCO Conference on Music Education in Brussels (1953), I have dealt with the problem so far as music is concerned. Music has to be taught today in large schools to large numbers; in this mass or group tuition it becomes difficult to inculcate or maintain the subtleties of the art or correctness of notes or the tunefulness of the singing; the nuances and graces transcend notation, and the written sheets are not of ultimate help; where multiple teachers are employed, confusion of styles occurs; it is highly important that the singer should imbibe and develop a style for his art. For some years now we have been teaching music in schools of modern type but it must be confessed that none of the schools or colleges or University Departments has so far produced an outstanding performing artiste. This is true of the dance-art also, for which many schools have been lately organized. The performers of high attainments who have been able to gain a platform-status are still coming only from the ranks of those who have been privately trained, individually and in intimate personal relationship, by the great masters. Therefore, I would reiterate the suggestion that I have made previously, which I hope these institutions under non-official or official management, will consider: the students intended for specializing in these arts and attaining high proficiency in them should be very carefully sifted, and only a limited number of the most gifted chosen. The course of training in a musical *conservatoire* or dance school should be sufficiently long; candidates have to be selected while yet young; after a basic education up to a lower secondary standard in a general school, they should come to the music or dance school, and along with the main training in music and dance, this school should itself provide for them such general knowledge as may be necessary for them as students of these arts and as educated members of society. In a particular music or dance centre like Madras, all outstanding masters of these arts should be recognized as teachers of such institutions and given facilities

to have each a select set of students; strict time-tables, attendance and other rigid formalities concomitant to modern school organizations should not be insisted upon. Instead of the same student going to different teachers for different classes, the students should be divided into batches and attached to different teachers, each batch taking its whole training for the entire period with the same master it has chosen. It is in such ways that the essential features of the proven *gurukula* method could be brought into the modern system.

What has been said above applies in a greater degree to Dance. I have dealt with the unsatisfactory situation in this art in which we are now, in my paper at the Dance Seminar of the Central Sangit Natak Akademi, Delhi. One concrete suggestion I would like to make with reference to one of the measures which Government have adopted in recent years for the promotion of music and dance. It relates to the scheme of Humanities Scholarships which the Ministry is awarding every year for these arts. A couple of years back the Ministry issued a questionnaire to find out how the scheme of music and dance scholarships was working. As one in the know of things in this field, I made some suggestions to Government and as they have not so far implemented them, I would like to place this suggestion before you. In dance, the government scholarship rules require the applicant to have passed eighteen years of age; by eighteen, these girls have already finished their dance-training and in the great majority of cases the scholarships are being taken as a pension by these performing artistes or their masters; the worse aspect of this relates to girls who seek a new teacher or are going to start learning at this stage; at this age, if they had undergone training with some teachers, it takes time to unlearn and catch the method and style of the new teacher; if they are fresh aspirants, the limbs are not supple, as it is too late to start at eighteen. There have been some dancers who started very late, but they had to adapt and propagate an art suited to their own physical limitations. This can hardly be accepted. At all times, in all countries, whether it is Ballet or Bharata-nāṭya, the training begins at a young age; the ideal age is some time before the tenth year. Government scholarships for music or dance cannot be treated on the same par as post-graduate research scholarship in other Humanities, unless

candidates are musicologists or those scholarly persons desirous of producing theses or other critical and documentary material on music and dance. Scholarships for practical training in these arts should be given to persons of lower age-groups and for a longer period; the amount may be reduced, but the scholarships should be for the whole period of training in which, starting with the very first steps, the young aspirant could be trained by a particular teacher, watching her progress stage by stage, and leading her over some years to the completion of technique and maturity of expression.

Another concrete proposal which I want to make relates to the manufacture of instruments. Recently, Dr. Mantle Hood of the Music Department of the University of California (Berkeley), a specialist in Indonesian music, said in a lecture at the Madras Music Academy that one of the regrettable signs in the field of Gamelan music is that the craftsmen who made the Gong are dead and when the one or two who survive pass away, the knowledge will die. We in this country are not faced with any such impending danger in the making of our music instruments. Today it is sad to reflect that musicians taking to an instrument like the *Vīṇā* are steadily going down in number; only a planned discovering and channelling of musical talent among the diverse departments of music can secure for us a regular quota of votaries of instruments of different types. That apart, the art of making our music instruments is luckily not dead, but the purpose for which I have touched upon this subject is to sound a warning in the opposite direction. The Handicrafts Department of the Government have come forward to set up workshops for manufacturing music instruments. While aid to this industry is to be welcomed, I should like to take this occasion to say that misguided enthusiasm should not be brought to bear on the work and programme of this music instruments factory so as to waste time and money in producing unconcert-worthy innovations and absolute curiosities like an electric drone, three drones in one and so on.

In this and other respects, I do not want to be misunderstood as a static conservative or one against fresh creative endeavour. But there are no shortcuts to real creative work. This aspect could be further illustrated by the attempts recently begun to experiment on orchestration in Indian

music. However, this is not a genuine manifestation of an organic creative urge which has bestirred any outstanding performing artist. You must note that those who have been busy about this have been musical enthusiasts, teachers and departmental and administrative personnel such as officers of the AIR. I do not want to expatiate upon this much-discussed question. I want only to draw your attention to the observations of several competent musicians of the West who have visited our country, who have all unequivocally expressed themselves against this effort and have pleaded for Indian music and its beautiful melodies to preserve their own integrity and uniqueness. This is a question very pertinent in our Seminar as this is a result of the Western impact and an outcome of the imitative tendency; it has also relation to a typical modern mental characteristic which sees something great or grand in mere numbers or the massive or the spectacular.

The purpose of the study of comparative music or Ethno-Musicography is not to mix up. A study of this subject, which is now well established in the West, is yet to develop in this country. There are two reasons why we in this country should take up this new line of musical investigation called Ethno-Musicography; on one side, with a wealth of tribal cultures and traditions of folk music, our country offers considerable materials for musicological research. More extensive surveys and recordings of folk music than has so far been done by the AIR or the Central Sangit Natak Akademi are necessary. On the other side, Indian music has affinities with other traditions of ancient music and even those of some of the Slavonic peoples and these traditions also afford ample material to the investigator. At the UNESCO Music Conference at Brussels I took a lead in asking for a South-East Asian Music Sub-Commission; such a Sub-Commission was approved of, but as our country has not extended the necessary co-operation yet, this Commission has not yet met in this country which possesses the most ancient, rich and artistically developed music in the whole area coming under this Commission. One of the purposes which prompted me to work for the creation of this Commission was the venue it could provide for the comparative study of Asian and S.E. Asian music cultures. I hope we could urge for some concrete steps being taken in this direction.

I want to make a further concrete suggestion in respect of a desideratum in our music research. Indian music, with its melodic concentration, has long been held to have high spiritual and other healing potentialities. So far musicians and enthusiasts have merely indulged in pious utterances about this. It is time that in this country where there is such a faith in the spiritual and other higher powers of *Nāda*, we utilize the services of the highly sensitive apparatus which modern science can give us to carry out experiments in the supersonics of our *Śrutis* and *Svaras* and the therapeutics of our *Rāgas*. While any of the smaller regional bodies could look to the organizing of music festivals or arranging good concerts and recitals, the purpose of a Central Academy of Music established by Government could be realized by embarking upon such neglected but difficult and expensive fields of investigation.

Lastly, I do not know how far academies or commissions of UNESCO could exercise any influence on certain forms of art which have a deep commercial root like the cinema. While the academies and the AIR are putting forth strenuous efforts to maintain standards, high quality, purity of rendering and style, the film can hardly be said to help; on the other hand, it is constantly pulling in the opposite direction. It is a pity that even South Indian films, which once used excellent Carnatic music, have today been flooded with cheap exotic tunes.

Of Dance and its teaching today, I have already spoken while dealing with music. In the Dance Seminar held by the Central Akademi recently in Delhi, we adopted some important recommendations, which, if implemented, will go a long way to rehabilitate and reinforce the art. As a first priority, we asked for the organizing of two Central Schools for the training of teachers of *Bharatanāṭya* and *Kathak*, for the codification of the methods and materials of their teaching, and for the drawing up of a syllabus for these styles. This is the basic need. Another concrete line of work requiring to be undertaken could be mentioned: There are styles of dancing which are dying or are practically dead, e.g., the *Kūchipūḍi* of Andhra and the *Bhāgavata Nāṭaka* of Tanjore villages. The Central Akademi has come forward to organize a Central College for *Manipuri*; at least a modest Central

School is called for *Kūchipūdi* and *Bhāgavata Nāṭaka*. Similarly, some schools have to be organized for re-establishing the Indian puppet theatre.

In Drama, I want to draw your attention to only one concrete proposal. There is today a fresh awakening in theatre activity. As I have shown in my paper before the Drama Seminar of the Central Akademi, Delhi, and elsewhere, and as often as occasion came, the traditional Indian theatre and its indigenous stage-technique were different from the modern realistic technique which India has borrowed in recent times from the West. The traditional Indian technique is also the technique of the entire South-East Asian theatre; it is an artistically superior, also an imaginative and symbolic, technique. In this style of production the drama is really a composite art of music, dance and miming. In India, this technique still lives in some surviving forms of dance-dramas, but in the Far East and South-East Asia, it is this technique in which all plays are being enacted. The Central Akademi of Dance, Drama and Music, Delhi, has founded a National School of Drama, and after a period of confusion and controversy with the UNESCO-sponsored Asian Theatre Institute, it may now be stated to have started on its work with the appointment of its own Director. If this School of Drama should achieve something really national, it should make a special effort to reconstruct the truly traditional dramatic technique of India. For this well-informed and competent Indian scholars and technical persons should be helped to visit and study technical details and teaching methods of the Japanese No Play, the Peking Opera, the Siamese Khon, the Rāmāyaṇa dance of Laos, the Cambodian Ballet, the Javanese Wayang, the Balinese dances, the Burmese Pwe and the Kandyan dances, all of which preserve some aspects of this ancient Indian style of production as a common heritage.

The paper was followed by the chanting of the Vedas by Pandits specially invited for the purpose: the recitations included parts of the Rigveda, Sāma Veda and the two schools of the Yajur Veda.

Chairman: Can the Pandits recite the whole of the Vedas?

Dr. Raghavan: Not all, but many can do so.

Chairman: Do they understand the meaning? *Answer:* only some.

Chairman: How can you say their pronunciation is correct?

The question raised a discussion on pronunciation in general and in the different regions of India.

Dr. Versluys raised a question about the Atharvaveda.

'Dr. Raghavan, you said the Atharvaveda is important from the historical, anthropological, technical and scientific points of view. How?'

Dr. Raghavan: In the Atharvaveda there are portions dealing with social and communal amity and well-being, portions dealing with medicine, agriculture and other arts. Masters of the Atharvaveda were always in demand in the past in times of natural or man-made calamities.

Dr. Versluys asked why in Indian concerts a microphone was invariably used, whereas in Concerts of Western classical music this would never be allowed.

There was a further discussion on the use of the mike in Indian Music Concerts. Members agreed that the use of the mike was not good and must be discontinued. Some suggested that originally there were limited audiences and the musician's voice could reach all; but now large audiences necessitated mikes.

Dr. Raghavan: That is not quite correct. We had in olden days the music in temples and in large marriage parties where mikes were not used, and there was no lack of audibility. Now they are using mikes everywhere, a mechanical aid which is by no means faithful. It acts as corruption on the voice.

Prof. Sambamurti: I want to draw a parallel in the case of our orators. In 1906 when Bepin Chandra Pal spoke to thousands on the beach no mike was employed. Our late musician Anantarāma Bhāgavatār had a voice that could be heard by many thousands. At the present day if the singers are using the mikes, it is due to the influence of the practice within the studios of the All India Radio where they have to subdue their voice as otherwise the music becomes unsuited to the radio. In Western music they keep the microphones far away. Because of the presence of the microphone people do not cultivate the depth of the voice. They do not concentrate on the training of a rich voice.

Dr. Raghavan: The mike is not indispensable to the classical music of South India. Our musicians can sing without its

aid. Our mikes are not perfect and sometimes the music that comes out of the mike is harsh; if at least for this reason mikes may be given up.

Then Prof. Bhaskaran summarized his paper:

TRADITIONAL CULTURE, ITS CHARACTER AND MODES OF PRESERVATION

by

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"THE aim of this Seminar is to recommend *concrete steps* within the concerned countries which their governments could take through their development authorities or other agencies, as also universities and non-official social and cultural bodies, for the preservation of the best elements of their traditional cultures." According to this aim and in the sequence adopted in the General Note or Working Paper circulated to the participants this paper tries to set out answers and conclusions submitted by the writer for consideration at and by the Seminar.

(1) The impact of technology today on contemporary Asian societies is, and cannot but be, different from such impact of science and technology as had occurred and is occurring in the West where such science and technology have had their origin and original impact. This position cannot be denied except by expanding our scales of time and space, to eternal and universal dimensions in which context discussions like ours will become pointless. Real urbanization in the Western sense is unlikely to occur on the same scale in the East and it is even there sought to be discouraged now; the task of Asian governments is not one of banning urban hypertrophy but of planning in such a way that occupation or work is brought to the rural family rather than oblige the adult worker to rush to the most accessible large industrial centre. Modern modes of production and contemporary technology do not necessitate the reckless and dehumanizing disruption of traditional life which went with and was thought inseparable from economic progress as conceived in purely fiscal terms by the pioneers of the industrial revolution of the West and their theoreticians. In this particular context, the preservation of traditional culture is not the perpetual freezing of certain

specific 'quaint' or 'interesting' modes of conduct identified and approved by anthropologists, but the conservation of time-tested human values and social ways by concerted social and political action against inroads motivated by the short-term urges of groups, private or public, that look to their interests more than to that of humanity as a whole. Governmental policy then, whether capitalistic or communist or neither, everywhere, in the East and the West, is now being evolved out of a clearer understanding of this issue. For our countries it is necessary that the governments and the agencies that influence and/or carry out their policies should be urged to make all policy decisions in full awareness of the supreme duty of the most powerful human organization to favour conservation rather than disruption. Every initiative towards change and innovation, even when it is admitted to be 'progressive', and beneficial, is still a disruptive force, and it is important that the government should be a moderator or adjuster among the forces of change rather than an active and wholly-committed protagonist of a particular scheme of change. Since in the countries with which we are concerned political revolutions are over, it is not desirable to continue the language and feelings of revolution and establish a permanent disposition for rapid and perpetual change as a necessary condition of keeping pace with other societies, eastern or western. Even party governments or dictatorships committed to some ideology need not feel obligated to press every expression of human life and thought into a single preferred mould. The preservation of traditional culture, just like the preservation of any other human value, is dependent on the recognition, acceptance and active encouragement of diversity and variety as a necessary social and personal virtue. No emergency short of actual war (and that is admittedly a temporary condition) can be held to justify the stream-lining of a nation or a state for some supreme purpose. Those who value culture (a non-traditional synthetic culture is difficult to imagine and, in fact, turns out to be the old culture in new vestments), cannot specify and demand an area or field for its exclusive preservation like the village, or the weaving of dhoties and *saris* without agreeing that these will then subsist under special protection like monuments and museums indirectly influencing

the stream of life by being put deliberately out of it. Governments of our countries may therefore be asked to look upon our traditional cultures as inextricably our own, not trappings outmoded by current international fashion and therefore to be enshrined and occasionally exhibited for scholarly and sentimental delight.

(2) (a) It is not science or technology that alters the conditions of life and changes them radically but the commercial, economic and political decisions that are taken deliberately at one place or without concert in many places as to how it should be employed. It would be false and self-contradictory for a "modernist" to hold that science has extended our control over environment to such an extent that the consequences are uncontrollable and have a law of their own which we can only obey and cannot hope to amend. If fission or fusion-bombs can be made, it does not seem to follow that they must be made and exploded on other people —the doctrine of the inevitability of industrial and economic change along the lines which they have taken in the last 100 years. To say that many aspects of individual national civilizations and cultures must surely be displaced eventually by a universal scientific and technological civilization of tomorrow is only to say that it is proposed to use the political power vested for example in the Government of India to make Indians more like Americans or Russians and so on till all humans become more or less equally familiar with and dependent on a similar system of industrial and agricultural production and distribution, and consequently the holders and transmitters of the relevant values and beliefs. Paraphrased in this way, the problem becomes one of educating the governing *élites* in the East to see the impossibility and the ethical enormity of their desires and dreams, not of persuading them to grant a little living room to the continuing culture of their own countries.

(b) Artistic traditions, like other traditions, must be affected by the tastes and prejudices of the holders of economic and political power. It is the concentration of this power in the State and its denial to autonomous persons or groups that creates the problem of replacing the old patrons by new State or bureaucratic patronage. If people who want the Vedas recited as they have been since they began, or images of Gods

and Goddesses to be cast in the established tradition, or new temples to be erected, have not the means individually or collectively to commission artists and craftsmen, how effectively can this work be performed by a government will depend either upon the government making the means available to the persons or undertaking to represent these persons too and act for them with the same zeal and devotion it displays with reference to the same or other persons and groups when their other interests are concerned. For the successor governments in our countries to take over and extend the policies and practices of the English, Dutch or French rulers of the past,—especially because all our arts have deep organic religious associations and overtones and we as modern and “secular” men can only behave like sympathetic and understanding persons but not like involved natives—is not enough. Spiritual and artistic needs are as vital and organic as other human needs. If governments cannot reflect the former needs themselves, they can set up autonomous and solvent corporations for the conservation of the artistic spirit and craftsmanly qualities of their peoples. These corporations should consist of representatives of guilds of practising artists and craftsmen and a diminishing number of articulate advocates of the arts and crafts.

(c) This sub-section poses issues of government priorities in allocating government funds and government interest among several sectors and modes of production. It will be, in my opinion, impossible for any group of wise men to evolve a general formula for the guidance of governments here. The arguments generally employed in current debates do not go far enough and are incurably partisan and “political” in the denigratory sense of the term. The economic and political interests involved are not so unequal as to make the issue of the debate certain or predictable. It is theoretically open to every closed economy to organize itself in any fashion it prefers. For example, if it is argued that handloom cloth must be more expensive than mill-made cloth and that the cheaper and so more efficient system of production should become general and the less efficient system protected by segregation for short or long periods, it can also be argued that for the greater good of the community mills may be allowed to run down and close and the community educated

to make the most of the traditional mode of production. It is not at all clear, as many seem to assume, that there can be no alternative to large-scale production by non-human power of consumer goods. Often the talk of balance between this and that conceals the acceptance of this as the better and that as something to be eased out of existence. The decision in such matters is a political decision and one who makes it should not pretend that economic inevitability is a law of nature outside human control. To my mind such thinking is a survival of the political philosophy of the era of economic *laissez faire* into the era of planning, of the capitalist worm in the socialist apple. Few seem to realize how the concentration of power in the governments of mass democracies has totally changed the character and effect of legislation and administration and how misleading it is to adhere to the old frames of reference in the new context.

(3) If any state can devise a generally acceptable system of religious and moral instruction, it should forthwith be made an integral part of the public education of the State. It does not appear to be realized that many free nations of the West do not hesitate to call themselves Christian though it is no longer the fashion to persecute free-thinkers. The bulk of the people all over the world are religious and no useful economic, scientific or technological purpose is served by any person or nation discarding religious belief or acquiring agnostic or atheistic convictions. If the religion of most people in a State is acknowledged as the State religion, a useful sanction for conserving the values of the people would be acquired. Otherwise it will be impossible to reconcile people to their situations except by promising and also providing for every one, student or teacher or any other citizen, an earthly paradise of his own specification. For those whom modern technology has not given a rising standard of material living, for the many to whom the State has not provided the equality of real income which they crave for and are taught to expect, religious and ethical teaching can bring comfort where statistical and economic theories are of no avail; viewed in this light the need for religion and for the rules of right conduct and good taste is perennial. Therefore, the frictions and tensions resulting from an attempt to recognize religions and ethical traditions in complex societies should be

faced and not evaded if they are to be resolved. The simplest way is to recognize what exists and work for its betterment rather than invent *ad hoc* religions, moralities and cultures to meet the needs of modern technology and science.

(4) It is too soon to conclude either way. To this observer it appears that the penetration of modern technology is less than skin-deep. Science and technology from the West has found in our lands at present only touts and brokers. The really converted, i.e., not those who see present or future advantage to themselves but are moved in the centre of their being by the new light and have made it a sort of religion for themselves, are not enough in number or influence at present. When the carpet-baggers disappear, what the new generation will be like it is difficult to say. Whether the politic-economic exploitation of science and technology by natives in collaboration with foreign exporters of goods, services and know-how will implant a desire to continue the new milieu among the people or induce a violent revulsion will depend on the residue left by the initial spurt. There is a case therefore for slowing the pace of westernization and making it seem more generally beneficial to the community in order to secure the acculturation without which lasting results cannot accrue. It would be in order to advise governments to go and to profess to go more slowly than they in their reading of the popular craving for sudden uplift governments are disposed to proceed. Proper cadres at all levels have not been built to bear the weight of 'progress' that is being imposed on our countries. Arguments for family-planning addressed to the masses who have no chance to see in their own context any tangible fruit of prudence and restraint will be badly received from planners however well intentioned they may be. It would, on the contrary, be better tactics to practise and impose general austerity rather than cultivate general discontent with a low standard of living which is neither so unfamiliar nor so intolerable as it looks to a foreign observer.

(5) Democracy does not inhibit or stimulate creative art or devoted craftsmanship any more than any other form of government. As regards taste and standards, these have always been relative and the divergence in this regard between one monarchy and another, one aristocracy and another is

as great as between one democracy and another or between one form of government and another. The real question is whether the government, *irrespective* of its form, is concerned with the fine arts, whether it is intelligent within the limits of its place and age. There is no reason to suppose that the Director of an Art Gallery or Chief Architect of a democratic government should have poorer taste than his counterparts under a king, or be less enlightened.

As regards 'practical' suggestions, the following are submitted for consideration:

(1) The setting up of a Ministry of Culture in the government of each country. It is true that this notion is not popular in the English speaking world because of its history, but that is not valid for us. The Minister must have cabinet rank and should not have operative control on allied activities like education or religion etc. The business of the Ministry will be to advise the cabinet and the other Ministries on the social-cultural implications of proposed projects, of the social-cultural effects of projects in operation, and to create and maintain an establishment to this end. The Minister will be responsible to his colleagues and the head of the State and the legislature, in the same manner as any other Minister. The permanent establishment recruited from the available administrative personnel and from outside will work on the same organizational pattern as prevails in the State. But it will be a purely staff organization and will have no operational responsibility. The responsibility for operations will be vested in autonomous Boards or Academies which will be regulatory guilds of nominated experts and scholars in several fields like Painting and Sculpture, Dance and Drama, Literature etc. These Boards will make budgets, make levies, spend funds, and record and stimulate development in their fields, and establish suitable field units. Given the right personnel and adequate funds it is not impossible to have society and government penetrated by continuous and wise concern for the culture of the people.

(2) To co-operate with and facilitate and benefit by the work of the Ministry and the Boards, guilds of concerned persons may be encouraged on a territorial and a subject base. There could also be territorial federations of all guilds to facilitate inter-communication.

(3) The last unit to be created will be a publicity and mass-communications wing after the entire organization has had time to survey its task and grasp it.

(4) Unless the task is integrated from the beginning there will be the danger of competition for scarce funds and undue concentration on advance publicity or some narrow specificity.

(5) The Ministry may evolve projects of study both for the collection and analysis of data and for their synthesis and interpretation. Here universities are the most likely places for the location of such study groups.

(6) Since, as in every other matter, the government has to take the initiative, care should be taken to see that the proposed development is not treated as an administrative question and solved in the routine administrative way by sheltering a "cultural affairs" unit in one of the many large bureaus of government. The work should be done by the person who bears the ultimate political responsibility in the country, and entrusted by him to a suitable colleague with enough power and funds to found and run his Ministry according to his lights and with the best advice he can procure from within or outside the government. It would be not only futile but positively harmful if 'care for culture' is added to the burdens of the central and field agencies in what is called the Development field of our governments.

The Chairman announced that draft resolutions should be sent in by members as early as possible.

Then there was a discussion on the points contained in Prof. Bhaskaran's paper which raised questions on which concrete suggestions may be made by the seminar. The first question taken up was the place of religion in education.

Chairman: It is very difficult to call upon states to provide religious and ethical instruction unless all of us are agreed about it. Supposing this Seminar is of the opinion that it is very necessary to have ethical instruction in order that cultural values may be preserved, and it is also of the view that it is possible to develop this ethical instruction without wounding religious susceptibilities, then there may be a case for it.

Prof. Sastri : We are concerned with how traditional cultures are affected by modern conditions and the most essential part of traditional culture is its religious background, and

there is a view that ignoring that is the cause for many of the present troubles. It is also suggested that religious instruction in schools and colleges may be the proper remedy for restoring discipline among students. This Seminar may consider the amount of truth in such themes. There is, I think, sufficient room to think further.

India is a secular state. It is impartial to all its religions. Russia is hostile to religion.

Dr. Raghavan: Private practice of religion is not prevented in Russia.

Dr. Junankar: It is a controversial subject. There can be two notions as to whether religion well adopted as a subject of study can really help in conserving values which are in the particular religion. So far as I am aware the concept of state religion is somewhat alien. This problem becomes still more difficult in a country like India. When you have more than one religion you have really already created a condition of basic intolerance. And even in education there has been a great deal of controversy as to what type of religious and ethical instruction should be introduced. After all, if you want to conserve values, I must ask how far can you conserve them as part of an instructional system. Ultimately the best values of religion would be conserved in actual life if they are alive in the conscience of the individual. It is extremely doubtful whether it will be possible to spread, honestly speaking, ethical instruction or religious instruction. It is these countries who have state religions and those who have no religion at all, that have created the major problem. In the world in which we live therefore it is an extremely delicate problem. I do not say you should not face the problems offered by countries like India, but you should have to tread very cautiously. Then you will find that making a religion state religion is not always in the best interests of the religion in this part of the world.

Dr. Versluys: Mr. Chairman, I should like to speak a few words regarding the work of Unesco for the study of social problems connected with the industrialization of South East Asia. The Unesco Research Centre at Calcutta and the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, have got some points where their activities may meet, and it is for that reason that I would like to explain the Centre's activities, and in

what ways co-operation may be possible. I would like to point out that the purpose for which the Calcutta Centre was established was especially to see how far in the countries of South and South East Asia, the process of industrialization has made its impact on the populations. This is one aspect. The second aspect concerns those countries where the process of industrialization has not yet developed very far. Their industries are to be developed without affecting the social and cultural institutions in order to avoid the severe and disastrous results of the industrialization that we have witnessed in the history of western countries. These two objects were the purpose of Unesco's plan to set up such a Centre, and for that reason in 1955 representatives of the 14 countries of South and South East Asia which formed the region of activity of the Centre were called to meet at Delhi to discuss the plans. The Centre started work in January 1956 and has first undertaken a project in India in two places, namely in Calcutta and Bombay, where studies were made of the social and cultural factors which would affect the productivity of industrial labour. Secondly, in the Philippines a study was started on the social effect of small industries on the population—rural and urban. Also the position of such industries in the economy of the country may be studied, and the possible development of these industries. There are, of course, several other aspects. A similar project in Pakistan is also considered. There more emphasis will be laid on the relationship between small industries and large industries, whereas in India such a study will also be started with particular stress on the social background of the workers and managers in these industries. So these questions are different according to the interests of the countries concerned.

The effects of electrification in the countryside are now investigated in Burma. Radio has been introduced. The people gain greater knowledge of day-to-day affairs. There are a number of other effects some of which seem to have connection with the work of a seminar like ours.

The nature of the study of the Unesco Centre in Calcutta is, of course, different from what is being done by this Institute. We do not particularly concentrate on traditional crafts, but sociological studies may be of some interest to the Institute here at Madras. The seminar on traditional cultures held in

Ceylon recommended that social surveys should be carried out in the villages, and again, at a similar seminar which was organized in the University of Delhi it was said that an Institute should be established for study and research in various aspects of rural life.

Various other meetings organized by different Universities jointly with Unesco made some recommendations where surveys and investigations of a social and cultural nature were proposed. I believe that such surveys and studies are extremely useful and necessary, and I am anxious to see that these surveys should be carried out well. How to carry out such surveys practically becomes the problem. Those who are organizing surveys of this nature, namely on the cultural aspects of life—music, art, drama and other forms of art—may not be well acquainted with research methods. It requires certain techniques which call for the co-operation of social scientists in such surveys. I would also like to mention possible help from our Centre in investigations of this nature—problems of research in which the social aspect of traditional art may figure prominently. I believe that it would be possible for our Centre to consider some techniques of research or survey planning, and if so desired it would be possible for our Centre to give advice when required. I believe that it would be extremely useful if we could achieve a scientific study of traditional culture. It is also important to know what work is being done by others. We have begun a Research Information Bulletin in which investigations are described and I would like to draw your attention to this particular medium of communication. I have with me some research information forms which may be filled up and forwarded to me or to the Calcutta Centre. It would also be possible for the Research teams or research workers in traditional cultures to receive some guidance if desired and to compare their methods of research with ours.

At 5.30 p.m. there was a lecture on Ideology of the Veda by Dr. R. Vaidyanathaswami in Room No. 48 at which Dr. V. Raghavan presided.

Thursday, 6 November 1958 :

At 9.00 a.m. the delegates visited the Sangīta Vādyālaya in Anṇāmalai manḍam at the invitation of Prof. Sambamurti who received them on arrival and conducted them round the institute. Many types of musical instruments of the traditional variety from different parts of India, some instruments from other countries, and others newly invented or manufactured at the Vādyālaya were shown and explained, some of the demonstrators being pupils of the institution. The delegates spent nearly two hours which, all felt, were both pleasurable and instructive.

The Seminar assembled as usual at 11.00 a.m. for the forenoon session and at 3.00 p.m. for the afternoon session. Practically the whole day was devoted to an intimate discussion, more of the nature of a conversazione than formal proceedings, of the several topics covered in the previous days, and of draft resolutions submitted by individual members. The general questions raised in the Note by the Director of the Institute were also discussed at some length. Some general conclusions emerged as the result of the talks. These were: *First*, that the large background questions raised in the Director's note did not admit of any agreed categorical answers in the form of resolutions, though they had served a purpose in stressing the complexity of the issues involved and the consequent need for caution in the formulation of practical recommendations. *Second*: that this Seminar should frame its resolutions in a general way so as to be applicable to all countries in the region, and should not enter into details relating to particular countries or areas except as illustrations to elucidate the line of action recommended in the general resolution. Both Dr. Junankar and Dr. Versluys who have much knowledge of the practice of Unesco and of International Seminars strongly advocated this view which was unanimously accepted by the meeting. *Third*: That all the resolutions that had been suggested by individual members of the Seminar be referred to a subcommittee for careful study and redrafting so as to avoid overlapping, repetition etc. and that the final draft of the resolutions be considered and adopted on the following day. Dr. Junankar, Dr. Versluys, Mr. A. N. Sehgal and Mr. R. Bhaskaran kindly agreed to constitute the subcommittee.

At the close of the day, the Seminar resolved to have one session on Friday the 7th beginning at about 2.30 p.m. as on that day they had a visit to Kalākshetra to witness a programme likely to last till midday.

Later in the evening (6.30 to 9.00 p.m.) the delegates, in response to an invitation from the Madras Nātya Sangh, witnessed the performance of the dance-drama *Shyāmā* by Rabindranath Tagore presented for the first time in Madras by the well-known Suramandir Players of Calcutta, and inaugurated by the Hon'ble Śrī P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court. Special reference was made at the end to the presence of the delegates at the theatre hall of Anṇāmalai Manṭram to witness the performance and Dr. Shahidullah suitably acknowledged it in a felicitous speech he made on behalf of all his colleagues. There was a group photograph of all the actors and the guests who had been specially invited.

Friday, 7 November 1958:

The Kalākshetra, Adyar, had got up a special programme of music, and dance, including both Bharata Nātyam and Kathakali, on the occasion of the visit of the Earl and the Countess of Harewood to the Institution, and had invited the delegates of the Seminar. They had a most enjoyable couple of hours 10.00 a.m.—12 noon during their second visit to this well-known art centre.

The subcommittee for drafting the resolutions in a final form met at 2.30 p.m. and finished their work by 3.30 p.m. The regular concluding session of the Seminar then began. The Director read a telegram from the Burmese Embassy in India: 'Union Government regret inability to participate in International Seminar on Traditional Cultures of South East Asia at Madras owing to other commitments.' A message of good wishes for the Seminar was received from the Universitas Islam Sumatera Utara, Medan (Indonesia). The following resolutions were adopted unanimously without much discussion as all the points had been thrashed out earlier:

RESOLUTIONS

1. The Seminar believes that in view of industrialization and accompanying changes in the countries of S.E.Asia, a concerted effort needs to be made to conserve and promote adaptable values in traditional cultures and various ways of life, including those of preliterate societies.

This Seminar holds that it is uncritical and incorrect to imagine that traditional cultures and ways of life (including those of tribal peoples) are necessarily outmoded or retrogressive while equating what is usually described as Western civilization with "progress".

2. The Seminar recommends that the Governments of the countries of South East Asia be requested to establish suitable organizations, where such do not exist, for promoting arts. Such Art Councils or Academies should have *inter alia* the following functions.

- (i) To assist Arts and Musical Associations which pay due attention to works in the traditional or classical style;
- (ii) To encourage creative expression in the field of arts;
- (iii) To assist artistes and craftsmen in obtaining materials of good quality at reasonable prices and in arranging the sale of their works and products;
- (iv) To publish and to assist in the production and publication of illustrated works bearing on Arts and Crafts, including music, dance, drama etc. of the different areas of each country;
- (v) To establish and maintain permanent galleries and museums of arts and crafts illustrative of all historical periods;
- (vi) To locate and record at the site manuscripts and other evidence of the art heritage and craft tradition with special reference to music, and dance, ritual and ceremonial recitations, and to arrange for the dissemination of knowledge thus obtained;
- (vii) To give financial and other assistance for the propagation of music, dance, drama and allied arts.

3. The Seminar recommends that folklore societies on a local and national basis should be established in South East Asia and these societies should have *inter alia* the following functions:

- (i) Recording ballads, songs, tales, etc., to be published in folklore journals;
- (ii) To establish museums and organize festivals and exhibitions of folklore and folk arts and crafts;
- (iii) To encourage study and research in Folklore and Folk arts.

4. The Seminar recommends that Unesco should organize a Seminar on folklore and folk arts and crafts for South East Asia in 1961-1962.

5. In view of the importance of the East-West Major project adopted by Unesco at its General Conference in 1956 at New Delhi for Asian countries, this Seminar recommends that this Institute of Traditional Cultures be enabled to define traditional and other values in the South East Asia region in collaboration with Scholars, Universities and learned bodies and stimulate study, research and discussion so as to evolve an authoritative statement of values and promote their appreciation within the framework of Unesco's Major Project on mutual appreciation of eastern and western cultural values.

It further recommends that Universities and other Institutions interested in this subject should organize groups of scholars from different disciplines to study the problem.

6. This Seminar recommends that the study of and research in different fields of traditional culture should be undertaken in the light of modern methods of social research. Therefore, it is desirable to utilize fully the resources and technical advice of the Organizations engaged in similar work such as the appropriate University departments and Unesco Research Centre at Calcutta.

7. The Seminar recommends that the Governments of South East Asia be requested to make provision for:

- (i) the teaching of music and other arts in such manner as will preserve their basic character and genius, improve their standards, and prevent the disruption or disappearance of local skills and traditions;
- (ii) the comparative study of traditional techniques of drama and other arts prevailing in the several areas of the state;
- (iii) surveys of the role played by traditional arts and crafts in contemporary life either separately or in combination

- with such socio-economic surveys as may be projected or are in progress in their countries;
- (iv) assisting the film and other media of mass communication to familiarize the public with the highest possible standards in music and the visual arts.

8. This Seminar recommends that the respective Governments of South East Asia countries be requested to take immediate steps for the survey, collection, preservation and study and publication of the manuscripts lying scattered in private possession or neglected places in those countries.

After the resolutions were adopted Dr. Junankar spoke as follows:

Now that we are concluding our deliberations, there are one or two things which I would like particularly to mention in this Seminar. You will agree with me, that it was a good idea of the Institute in Madras to have organized a seminar of this kind, and this Institute in which, we, like others, have been interested from its birth deserves all possible encouragement and support. So far as I am aware the Government of India and the Indian National Commission for Unesco in this country have extended their co-operation and assistance in every possible way to this Institute. As the Director said at the beginning of the Seminar it is now more or less a well established Institute with co-ordinated support from Unesco and other sources for the next two years. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to request the participants from other countries to give their co-operation as they must have been giving it before to this Institute. In this part of the world almost every one talks about traditional culture and traditional values, but it is absolutely necessary to clarify our ideas on different aspects of traditional culture in the context of the modern world. This task cannot be done by one mandatory resolution or directive or order of the Government; this job has to be done by scholars, universities, learned bodies, institutions and in fact all people in the transitional period. When people in different walks of life are continually engaged in an examination of their cultural heritage and its adaptation to the latest conditions and developments in the midst of which they find themselves, it is necessary as a first step that the essential and authentic values of that heritage are properly identified to serve as a basis for new

integrations, and in that task, I believe, the Institute of Traditional Cultures has to play a very important part.

I am quite sure that under the able guidance of its Director, the Institute will have a bright future and will find a proper place in the scheme of things. I would like to take this opportunity on my own behalf and on behalf of the Indian National Commission for Unesco to thank the Director for having invited us to participate in this Seminar, and I think I would be voicing the sentiments of all of us here, if I say that the arrangements they had made with their limited resources were excellent, and we are extremely grateful to the Director and his volunteers who have looked after us in this Seminar.

Then I would like to express on my behalf and on behalf of other participants thanks to the Chairman (Dr. Shahidullah) who has conducted these deliberations so ably and so graciously. It is because of his mellowed and wise guidance, I think, that the deliberations of this Seminar have reached a successful conclusion.

It would not be out of place to mention our thanks to those who have entertained us during the course of the Seminar, particularly to Kalākshetra and the Madras Nātya Sangh for the performance of Tagore's Dance Drama "Shyāmā". Like all Seminars this Seminar has also discussed a variety of things, and it is often the case that once a Seminar is over, nothing is heard of it afterwards. It is therefore necessary always and specially after a Seminar like the present one to keep up research on certain specific aspects of cultural rejuvenation and synthesis. This is a kind of work where you cannot expect any spectacular results or spectacular rewards, but what we need is provision for continuous work, for the study of our cultural heritage, its critical examination in relation to the conditions in which we live. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Institute and I hope and trust that in collaboration with other countries in the region and foreign universities and learned bodies this Institute will continue its proper functioning in the scheme of things.

He was followed by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, the Director of the Institute:

Mr. Chairman and friends: I am very grateful to Dr. Junankar for the speech he has just made. His remarks have anticipated a good deal of what I wanted myself to say. For

the organization of this Seminar I do not think I should take credit for myself or for the Institute exclusively, because the idea was put forward at the time when some officers of Unesco from Paris, including Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah, Asst. Director General, Unesco, visited this Institute at the beginning of this year; then it was thought that a seminar of this kind would be very useful, and we were in touch with each other and the Seminar was decided on; and it is only a generous grant from the Unesco to the Institute that has enabled it to conduct this Seminar. Otherwise there were no resources to do it. To you, many of whom have undertaken somewhat long and arduous journeys to attend the Seminar, I am deeply grateful. I wanted to say myself what Dr. Junankar has anticipated. I wanted to appeal to you for your continuous co-operation with the Institute in the work which it is attempting to do with whatever measure of success so far; with greater co-operation the success which we all can achieve together is bound to be greater—I am looking forward eagerly to your help. I have already received such co-operation from several of you and I am looking forward to more of it in the future. I am afraid that in the arrangements we were able to make for your stay here, much must have been incomplete and imperfect. Such imperfections I beg you to overlook, so that you may carry good memories of your stay in this place. I am also very grateful to the authorities of Kalākshetra and the Madras Nāṭya Sangh for agreeing to invite the delegates, to the very interesting items which we witnessed in the course of these days.

I have already had occasion to mention my deep indebtedness to my colleagues on the Executive Committee of this Institute and to Professor Bhaskaran in particular for the help I have received, at various stages. One very large help which I should mention in particular in connection with this Seminar is that he requested his post-graduate students to help me by receiving the guests and being serviceable to them. I think they have done very good work, with very great good will and I am deeply indebted to the young men and to their professor. I do not think that without their aid I could have got through the work as I have done now.

Then I must thank the USIS in Madras which has enabled me to have a more or less complete tape record of the

proceedings. The tape record cannot be permanent. It will be available for some time after the Seminar to check the stenographers' report and prepare a fairly accurate final report. But for the co-operation of the USIS I could not have dreamt of tape recording.

When the AIR heard of our Seminar they very readily agreed to cover it and on the opening day they broadcast a report of the inaugural function between 8.30 and 9.00 p.m. I am very grateful to them too.

I must thank the Social Research Centre of Unesco at Calcutta for the readiness with which they responded to my invitation to send their representative to this Seminar.

I thank you all very much once more. Lastly, our distinguished Chairman, Dr. Shahidulla, as Dr. Junankar has already observed, conducted our deliberations with characteristic wisdom and we are deeply indebted to him for having undertaken this business very readily. I am very grateful to him for the help he has rendered.

Others who spoke were:

Chairman (Dr. Shahidulla): Friends, at the outset I must acknowledge with thanks the great honour you have conferred upon me in making me the Chairman of your deliberations. As regards hospitality it is quite fitting with the Indian tradition. There is one thing which I shall never forget. I am a student of Sanskrit. I began my study of Sanskrit in my 4th standard, and I was the third to pass Sanskrit Honours in my community from the Calcutta University. I am a Yavana by caste, but I had a great liking for the subject (He chanted Gāyatrī mantra). I am particularly thankful to Dr. Raghavan for giving us the opportunity of hearing the Vedic chanting. I thank Prof. Sambamoorthy. I thank the Unesco authorities and the organizers of this Seminar and the people of Madras and our Director Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.

Mr. Fernando: I must thank the Director for inviting me personally from my country to this Seminar and also for all the excellent arrangements for the stay at Madras and for providing me an opportunity to meet a number of scholars of South East Asia with whom I had very interesting discussions. Particular mention must be made of our Chairman. He had published an article in Sinhalese as early as 1927. It is a

valuable article. It has attracted much attention in Ceylon. It is read and appreciated by my countrymen.

Dr. Versluys: On behalf of Unesco I would like to say a few words of thanks to the Director of this Institute and to the Government of India which has promised the Institute financial support. It is only through the activities of the Governments concerned that a seminar of this kind can be really useful, and I may ask for your personal co-operation to make your Governments interested in this particular subject by urging the authorities concerned to carry out our recommendations as far as they can within their limitations. I should like to thank the Director of the Institute of Traditional Cultures for his invitation to the Calcutta Centre to send a representative to the Seminar. This Seminar has been of great interest by bringing together those who are the representatives of folklore, folk art, dramas, etc., in various countries of Asia. I believe further research can be made in these fields and this should be encouraged as much as possible. I would like to end by expressing my personal thanks to the Director of the Institute for having given me the opportunity of attending this Seminar.

APPENDIX

Biobibliography

UNESCO NOMINEES

MR. AJIT MOOKERJEE: The Indian Institute of Art in Industry, Artistry House, 15, Park Street, Calcutta—16 (India). M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University; M.A. in History of Art, University of London; Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; Ghose Travelling Fellow and Post-Graduate Fellow of the Calcutta University; toured extensively in Europe, America, Japan, South-East Asian countries as a Lecturer in Indian Art and Architecture; visited important Art Galleries, museums, Craft and Design centres in Italy, Switzerland, France, Sweden, United Kingdom, U.S.A. and Japan in a Study tour under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation; carried out extensive surveys on traditional arts and crafts of India in different regions. Now Director, Indian Institute of Art in Industry, Calcutta. Publications: *Folk Art of Bengal* (Calcutta University, 1939); *Museum Studies* (Calcutta University, 1942); *Art of India* (Oxford Book and Co., 1952); *Folk Toys of India* (Oxford Book and Co., 1956); *Modern Art in India* (Oxford Book and Co., 1956); Many articles to well-known journals and broadcasts on AIR and BBC; *Ed. Designs in Indian Textiles* (1953); *5000 Indian Designs and Motifs*; *Art in Industry* (Quarterly Magazine). Age 42.

MR. AMARNATH SEHGAL: 206/207 Constitution House, New Delhi (India). Science Graduate Government College, Lahore (1941); M.A. in Art, New York University (1949); Travelled in U.S.A., Europe and East Africa; held one-man shows in New York, Paris, East Africa and New Delhi; Part-time Teacher of Art, Modern School, New Delhi; conducted a Unesco survey on the role of Arts and Crafts in rural areas in North India; Awards for Sculpture by the Lalit Kala Akademi, 1957 and 1958. Now Sculptor and Honorary Consultant in the Ministry of Community Development, Government of India. Publications: Pamphlets and articles on Arts and Crafts. Age 37.

MR. AUSTIN JAYAWARDHANA: Assistant Director of Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Education, Colombo (Ceylon); M.A. University of Ceylon; Working on a Ph.D. thesis on Sanskrit Aesthetics; *Ed. Nāgānanda*, a Sanskrit text. Age 28.

DR. P. E. E. FERNANDO: University Park, Peradeniya (Ceylon); M.A. (London), Indian Epigraphy and History; Ph.D. (London), thesis 'Arts and Crafts of Ancient Ceylon'; Lecturer in Sinhalese, University of Ceylon (1943); Lecturer in Sinhalese, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1950-53); Lecturer in Sinhalese, University of Ceylon from 1954; Publications: Papers on Development of the Sinhalese script from beginning to 15th century; Sinhalese literature; Kandyan Painting. Age 44.

MR. MOHAMMAD DAHLAN MANSOER: Djalan Tanah Abang Dua No. 64, Djakarta (Indonesia). M.A. Training College for Teachers, Bandung; Teacher of Primary School (1950-52); Teacher, Teachers' College (1952-54); Headmaster of Historical Course, Djakarta; Lecturer for Indonesian History, University Andalas, Batusangkar, University of Padjadjaran, Bandung (1954-57); Now Head of the Office for Upgrading courses for Secondary Teachers, Dept. of General Education, Ministry of Education, Djakarta; Publications: Co-author of text-books for Indonesia and General History: (1) *Kita dan Dunia* (We and the World) (2) *Asia dan Dunia* (Asia and the World). Age 42.

DR. MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH: Rajshahi University, Rajshahi, (E. Pakistan). B.A. (Hons.) in Sanskrit (1910) and M.A. in Comparative Philology (1912) of Calcutta University; Docteur de l'Université de Paris in Sanskrit and Diplomate in Experimental Phonetics of the University of Paris (1928); Formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Bengali and Sanskrit, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Universities of Dacca and Rajshahi; Philology Section President, All-India Oriental Conference (1941); Presided over many literary and Educational Conferences in Bengal and East Pakistan; Winner of Award (Rs. 10,000) of President of Pakistan for Pride of Performance. Since 1958 Supernumerary Professor of Sanskrit and Bengali in the Rajshahi University. Publications: *Les Chants Mystiques* (Paris, 1928); Translations of Hafiz and Umar Khayyam from Persian into Bengali verse; also of Iqbal's Shikwah into Bengali verse and Vidyāpati's songs; Life of Iqbal and his works; History of Bengali literature in Bengali and Urdu etc. Age 73.

DRS. R. M. SUTJIPTO WIRJOSUPARTO: Pegangsaan Timur 36, Djakarta (Indonesia). M.A. University of Indonesia (1952); Studied Archaeology and Fine Arts at the Calcutta University (1952-53) and Viśvabharati University, Śāntiniketan (1953-54);

Participant at Tokyo Seminar (1957) on Eastern and Western Cultural contacts; Now Lecturer in Ancient Indonesian History and Archaeology, University of Indonesia. Publications: *World History*, Vols. I to III; *Struggle for free Indonesia*; *Cultural History of Indonesia*; *History of Indian Sculpture*; *The Art and Architecture of Dieng in Middle Java*; *Candakaranika*, an old Javanese (Kawi) Indonesian dictionary—all in Indonesian language; *A Short guide to Borobudur*—in English. Age 42.

DELEGATES

DR. N. S. JUNANKAR: Secretary, Indian National Commission for Unesco, New Delhi. Deputy Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, New Delhi (India).

DR. J. D. N. VERSLUYS: Deputy Director, Unesco Research Centre, P. O. Box No. 242, Calcutta (India). Born in Holland; Studied Indonesian language, law, economics and political Science at the Leiden University (1931-1938) from where he received his doctor's degree. Served in the Netherlands Indies Civil Service (1938-1948), and carried out a number of field studies in the tribal areas of Timor and Sumba; was appointed Professor of Asian Economics and Sociology, University of Indonesia (1949-1950) and joined Unesco in 1951, first as Programme Specialist in the Department of Social Sciences and since 1st January 1956 as Deputy Director, Unesco Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia which he established in Calcutta. Publications: *Vormen en soorten van loon in den Indischen landbouw* (Forms and kinds of wages in Indonesian agriculture, Leiden, 1938); many articles, Reports and Studies in Dutch and English. Age 45.

SPECIAL INVITEE

MR. M. D. RAGHAVAN: 10, Hall's Road, Egmore, Madras (India). B.A. (Madras); Diplomate in Anthropology; President of the Ethnology and Folklore section at the 11th session of the All India Oriental Conference; former Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras; Ethnologist Emeritus of the Department of National Museums of Ceylon; conducted ethnological survey in Ceylon from 1946; results

published in *Spolia Zeylanica*, *Ceylon Today* and *New Lanka*; Member of the Advisory Board for the Development of the Backward Communities, 1951-56. Served on Ceylon Arts' Council, Panel of Folk Songs & Dances. *Publications:* Many monographs and articles of interest to Traditional Culture of India and Ceylon. Age 67.

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